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THE BLACK ROBES OF NEW SPAIN*

For me to appear before the American Catholic Historical Association to speak on the subject of the Jesuits is no less than rash. But I come with the utmost humility—even more than I felt when I started to write my paper. My presence here is an evidence of a sincere if a feeble endeavor to learn something of the stupendous achievements of the Black Robes in Spanish North America, and to indicate in broadest outline a field of study which a group of us are modestly cultivating.

I

No phase of Western Hemisphere history reveals greater heroism, and few have greater significance, than that of the Jesuit missions. The story of the Black Robes in Paraguay and other parts of South America has been told by many writers. The deeds of the Jesuits in New France have been made widely known to English readers by the scintillating pages of Parkman, the monumental documentary collection edited by Thwaites, and the scholarly monographs of Kellogg and a host of Canadian scholars.

It would be presumptuous for me to attempt greatly to modify what the brilliant New England historian wrote. Indeed, aside from its limited geographical horizon and the Puritan assumptions on which it is based, the chief fault to be found with the literary

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masterpiece is its title. Parkman called his classic *The Jesuits in North America*, meaning only those of New France. In the book there is scarcely a hint that there were any Jesuits in colonial America except those who labored in Canada and the Mississippi Valley. He wrote so brilliantly that he conveyed to lay readers a grossly erroneous impression; for, because of Parkman's facile pen, nine out of ten persons in English speaking circles, when they hear the phrase "the Jesuits of North America," think instinctively and exclusively of the Black Robes of New France; and many of them would be surprised and perhaps skeptical if told that there were any Jesuits in colonial days other than those of which Parkman wrote. But the Black Robes of New France were by no means the only sons of Loyola in the North American colonies. Indeed, they were not the earliest nor the largest group, for they were long preceded and greatly outnumbered by those of New Spain. The French Jesuits suffered martyrdoms which made them justly famous among the martyrs of all the missionary world. But they were not the sole nor even the most numerous Jesuit martyrs in colonial North America, for they were far exceeded numerically by the Black Robe martyrs of Nueva España.

Judged by their own criteria, the Canadian Jesuits were not by any means the most successful sons of Loyola in colonial America. The primary aim of the missionary was to save souls. To baptize a dying babe nearly any of them would go through fire and water. Their first measure of success was the number of baptisms solemnized, the number of pagan mortals brought into the Christian fold. Thus computed, the success of the Canadian Jesuits was relatively small. This was no fault of theirs. They labored in a most difficult land, where Satan and his imps were particularly rampant. The Black Robes of New France counted their conversions by hundreds, or at best by thousands; those of New Spain, working in a more propitious field, numbered their baptisms by hundreds of thousands, or even by millions. And their achievements in other directions were similarly disparate. Do not misunderstand me. These comparisons are by no means made to exalt one group of noble men in order to disparage another group equally worthy. They are intended merely to bring to the

attention a momentous episode in North American history which has remained obscure. The height of one great mountain can best be realized by comparing it with another great mountain of known elevation. The imposing stature of the Jesuits of New France is widely known because they had Parkman as their historian. The Spanish Jesuits in North America await their Parkman.

There is space here only to sketch in broadest outline the two hundred year sweep of Jesuit missionary work in New Spain. What I say will be the more impressive if it is borne in mind that each page of mine calls for at least a full-length volume, each of which in turn must rest on many volumes of documentary materials, known to exist, but most of which have not been printed.[1]

II

The pioneer Jesuits in North America labored on the Atlantic seaboard, all of which was then comprised in the vast region called La Florida.[2] Father Martínez, the first Black Robe to arrive, was martyred by a Georgian chief in September, 1566, just sixty years before Lallemand and his band entered Canada. Father Segura and his followers were slain near Chesapeake Bay not far from the site where the English settled thirty-seven years later. Virginia history thus opened not with the founding of Jamestown, but with giving to the world eight Jesuit martyrs. The Black Robes who escaped the Virginia massacre and a Carolina revolt were soon transferred to a happier field. Mexico, or New Spain, was made a Jesuit province. Pedro Sánchez came from Europe as Provincial with fifteen companions, who were soon joined by the

[1] In preparing a sketch so broad and so general as this one, it has not been deemed advisable to give specific citations to all the materials drawn upon. Besides the general authorities such as Florencia, Pérez de Ribas, Alegre, Manje, Kino, Venegas, Baegert, Pfefferkorn, Decorme, Astrain, and Bancroft, extensive use has been made of documentary materials from foreign archives, most of which are still unpublished. It is a pleasure to acknowledge here the stimulus which I have received in my study of Jesuit history from my former students, the Reverend Dr. William Eugene Shiels, S. J., the Reverend Dr. Jerome V. Jacobsen, S. J., and the Reverend Dr. Peter M. Dunne, S. J.

[2] Their story has just been told in an excellent volume by the Reverend Dr. Michael Kenny, S. J., entitled *The Romance of the Floridas.*

Florida survivors. In the fall of 1572 Sánchez and his band reached Mexico City, and began an unbroken work of almost two centuries. Sánchez was a "sturdy beggar" and a gifted man of affairs. Generously endowed by private citizens, the viceroy, and the city, the Jesuits soon had a substantial residence and a church. More Black Robes came from Spain, an American novitiate was opened, and recruits were drawn from the "flower of Mexico."

For nearly a score of years effort was directed mainly toward establishing educational institutions, for which the young Order was already famous.[3] Four colleges and a seminary were followed by the great Colegio Máximo of San Pedro y San Pablo, which received its papal charter sixty years before Harvard opened its doors, and soon took its place as one of the three or four leading universities in all America. Father Ratkay, fresh from Europe in 1680, just before Philadelphia was founded, remarked that it had fifteen hundred students and a respectable debt of $40,000. Schools and colleges outside Mexico City were established in quick succession, at Pátzcuaro, Valladolid, Oaxaca, Puebla, Vera Cruz, and other places. Some of them were maintained especially for the natives. Conversion evidently bred humility, for one of the young chieftains became a professor, and taught for more than forty years in the college of San Gregorio. Such were some of the foundations and ministries of the Black Robes in and near the capital of New Spain, among Spaniards and sedentary Indians, in the early years of their apostolate. Two decades had not passed when they began to push beyond the border to found missions among the less civilized tribes—the work in New Spain for which they ultimately became most famous.

Their maiden effort in missions *entre infideles* was at San Luís de la Paz, where they were sent to help tame the wild Chichimecos, those people who terrorized the highway leading from the capital to the mines of Zacatecas. Under the gentle influence of the Black Robes roving Indians turned to village life, warriors became farmers, and the roads were made safe. Spaniards settled in the

[3] The Reverend Dr. Jerome V. Jacobsen, S. J., will soon make known this important chapter in the history of America in a book, now awaiting publication, entitled *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in New Spain.*

vicinity, and the present city of San Luís de la Paz is the result. Thus the first Jesuit mission among the wild Indians of Mexico was typical of all: it became the nucleus of a Christian colony and a center of civilization.

The Chichimec mission was but a step toward the great heathendom of Nueva Vizcaya, that immense jurisdiction embracing all the country beyond Zacatecas, and extending a thousand miles or more, to New Mexico and California. Before the Jesuits arrived Spain had made considerable beginnings toward the occupation of this vast Northwest. Coronado had opened a road to Cíbola, Guzmán and Ibarra had conquered Sinaloa, thousands of cattle roamed the plains, haciendas flourished here and there in the fertile valleys, and silver mines were thinly scattered through the mountains of Durango.

Jesuit Land, for such the Northwest might well be called, comprised the modern districts of Nayarit, the four great states of Durango, Chihuahua, Sinaloa, and Sonora, Baja California, and part of Arizona, a domain larger than all of France. And the Black Robes did not merely explore this vast area, they occupied it in detail. This extensive region was chiefly a mountain country. It embraced four rather distinct geographic areas: the Central Plateau, the Sierra Madre, the Coastal Plain, and the California Peninsula, each with features which greatly influenced Jesuit activities. The Central Plateau, seven thousand feet high in southern Durango, gradually slopes northward and extends to and beyond the Rio Grande. On the west this tableland is walled in by one of the roughest portions of the entire Western Hemisphere—so rough indeed that south of the United States border there is a stretch of nearly a thousand miles which has never yet been crossed by a wheel track. On its precipitous western slope this Sierra Madre is cut by numerous rivers which tumble through immense barrancas — veritable Grand Canyons — some of them several thousand feet deep and many miles long. The Indians of this vast expanse were of various linguistic stocks and of many tribes. They occupied fairly definite areas, but with a few exceptions they did not lead a wholly sedentary life. For food most of the mainland peoples within the area raised maize, beans,

and calabashes by primitive methods; the Peninsula Indians practiced no agriculture at all. The natives of the mainland coast and the foothills were the most numerous, the most docile, and offered the best missionary field.

The pioneer missionaries in Nueva Vizcaya were the Franciscans. But the sons of Loyola now entered the district (1591), and became almost its sole evangelists during the next century and three quarters. Then the Franciscans came back. In two wide-fronted columns the Jesuits marched northward up the mainland, one up the eastern and one up the western slope of the imponderable Sierra Madre, meeting generally west of the Continental Divide. At the end of the seventeenth century they crossed the Gulf and moved in a third phalanx into the Peninsula of California.

River by river, valley by valley, canyon by canyon, tribe by tribe, these harbingers of Christian civilization advanced into the realm of heathendom. They gathered the natives into villages, indoctrinated them in the Faith, trained them in agriculture and the simpler crafts, and in schools and seminaries taught many of them reading, writing, and music. Under the tutelage of the patient Jesuits, barbarians who formerly had constructed only the meanest huts now built substantial Christian temples, some of which still stand as architectural monuments. The natives were generally well-disposed toward the missionaries. But secular Spaniards exploited their labor in mines and on haciendas; and native priests were jealous of their white competitors. The result was a series of periodic Indian revolts in which a score or more of Black Robes in New Spain won the crown of martyrdom. But the march went on.

It was a picturesque pageant. Black Robes moved into the wilderness beside or ahead of prospector, miner, soldier, and frontier trader. Land travel was chiefly on horseback, muleback, or on foot, and land transportation by pack train or Indian carriers. As the frontier expanded, here and there a town, a mining camp, an hacienda, a garrison was pitched on the border of settlement. Still beyond, in the midst of heathendom, Christian missions were planted. As the Spaniards advanced northward, the Indians were

reduced to sedentary life or were driven back. The spread of European civilization in North America was not by any means wholly a westward movement.

At the head of the Jesuit province of New Spain was the provincial, resident at Mexico City. Missions were grouped into rectorates under rectors, and these in turn into larger districts, under visitors. In regions near the capital the provincial himself customarily made the visitation. In the eighteenth century the office of visitor-general or vice-provincial was utilized. Few provincials ever found it possible to inspect the entire province.

The central feature of the mission was the pueblo, or permanent Indian village. The Black Robe went into the wilds seeking out heathen, making them his friends, telling them the Gospel story, baptizing the children of such parents as were willing, and adults who were dangerously ill. But this did not suffice. In order properly to indoctrinate the whole body of natives, drill them in the rudiments of Christian civilization, and give them economic stability, they were assembled in pueblos, or towns, organized to achieve these aims. If the natives already lived in a permanent and compact village, there the mission was established. There the work of "reduction" had already been done. With the wilder tribes pueblo forming was often a difficult task, for they preferred to live in freedom in caves or huts. The mountain Tarahumares especially opposed reduction to pueblo life.[4] As a nucleus of a new pueblo, it was the practice to bring a few families of Christianized Indians from an older mission, to help tame and domesticate the

[4] The difficulties of gathering these mountain people into pueblos are set forth by Father Joseph Neumann in a letter written during his first months among them: "Our labors consist in converting and baptizing the natives, in founding settlements, in persuading the Indians to leave their caves and scattered hovels and to adopt a civilized life, and in forming them, so to speak, into a corporate body. We compel them to live in villages near the churches, which we build in convenient locations where the country is more open. This is a very difficult task. For,—to explain their character a little—while these people were still heathen . . . they were accustomed to live, not in groups, but separately, one from another. With their wives and children they dwelt in mountain caves or in huts built of straw, which seemed more suitable for catching birds than for human habitation." (Letter to an unknown Father, Sisoguichic, Feb. 8, 1682.)

raw recruits. Customarily each Jesuit missionary had charge of three pueblos, a *cabecera* and two *visitas*.

The heart of the mission and the pride of the padre was the church. Near by was the residence of the pastor. Close at hand, perhaps in another quadrangle, were the houses of the Indians which constituted the pueblo. In a fully developed mission there were carpenter shops, blacksmith shops, spinning and weaving rooms, corrals for the stock, fields, irrigation ditches, and everything going to make a well ordered and self supporting agricultural unit. All this was supervised by the missionary himself, assisted sometimes by a lay brother expert in the mysteries of farm and shop.

At first the buildings were of the most flimsy character. These in time were replaced by more substantial houses, larger and more beautiful churches, generally of adobe but sometimes of stone. In hostile country it was customary to erect a strong protecting wall around the pueblo, or at least around the missionary's residence, and to provide it with military towers. Such a mission was a veritable frontier stronghold. To help supervise the labor of the Indians, keep them in order, punish minor offenses, and drill the neophytes in the rudiments of civilized life, native officers were appointed—governor, captain, alcalde, topil, mador, chief herdsman, head muleteer, head plowman, etc. According to their respective spheres, some of these functionaries were named by the missionary, others by the provincial governor or some other secular representative of the king.[5]

[5] Father Pfefferkorn, long a missionary in Sonora, thus describes the functions of the *madores* in a book which he wrote after the Jesuit Expulsion: "In each pueblo there were also one or two *mayori* or, as the Spaniards say, *madores*, who had the supervision of the grown children and at the same time the care of the sick. For this office Indians were chosen who from their known behavior gave promise of being faithful and careful. . . . They assembled the children daily for attendance at Mass and the Christian service, and during it they watched that order and decency be maintained. They also visited daily all the houses in the pueblo to see if there was anybody ill within. If they saw that anybody was in the least danger they immediately informed the pastor, who then had a look for himself and acted according to the circumstances. Marriages, which for most important reasons were arranged as soon as the age of the Indians permitted, were usually managed by the

Religious teaching of the neophytes included a daily routine of drill in the catechism, prayers, and sacred music. Many a missionary was as proud of his native choir and orchestra as of his church.[6] Promising youths were trained as altar boys, and as *temastianes* or catechists, to help drill the neophytes. Several of the central missions—those at San Felipe, Mátape, Parral, Chihuahua, and other places—had seminaries designed to give the temastianes the necessary training for their tasks. The religious life of a mission included attendance at Mass, the regular prayers, the Sunday sermon, confession, and the celebration of Church holidays with processions, pageantry, and other suitable exercises, in imitation of the Spanish settlements. These religious fiestas, often attended by the Spaniards of the vicinity, were combined with the jollities of secular sports—foot races, horse races, bull fights, and other healthful releases for the nervous system. On his own testimony one Black Robe, at least, is known to have engaged in a race with his Indians—he on horseback, they on foot—and to have been beaten.

III

The pioneer Jesuit in Nueva Vizcaya was Gonzalo de Tapia, of eternal fame.[7] With one companion in 1591 he crossed the

mayor. He chose the pair whom he thought suited to one another and presented them to the pastor. The latter inquired into the views of both parties and if they agreed the marriage took place." Pfefferkorn describes also the functions of pueblo governors, alcaldes, and fiscales. (*Beschreibung des Landschaft Sonora*, Cologne, 1795.)

[6] Pfefferkorn, writes as follows: "In all the missions of the Opatas and Eudebes, also in some among the Pimas, Solemn High Mass was celebrated on Sundays and feast days. Some of the choirs consisted of Indians who were so skillful in singing that many European churches might well wish such choristers. I had eight of them in my mission of Cucurpe, four men and four women. Among the latter one especially was noted for her incomparable voice. In the missions of the Opatas and Eudebes there were also Indians who performed with very agreeable harmony on musical instruments and who during Mass played in the pauses when the singers stopped. Mine practiced so diligently under my direction that they accompanied the singers with violins, harps, and zithers. In this way we celebrated in my mission not only Mass, but in the evening, after the completion of the Christian Doctrine and the saying of the Rosary, we sang the Litany of Loretto and the *Salve Regina*, accompanied by instruments."

[7] His inspiring career has recently been made known to English readers

perilous Sierra Madre. His precise destination was San Felipe, on Sinaloa River, then the very last outpost of European civilization in northwestern New Spain. San Felipe became and long continued to be the Jesuit capital on the Pacific Coast. Taking their lives in their hands, the two apostles undertook their gigantic task. Their touch was magic. Within six months several pueblos had been formed and more than a thousand natives baptized. Undaunted by poisoned arrows and yawning chasms, Tapia recrossed the Sierra to Mexico for additional help. More workers came, other thousands were converted, new pueblos established and better churches built.

Four years passed, and the Faith was taking firm root on Sinaloa River. But in the same degree, the chronicler tells us, the wrath of Satan grew. Tapia was marked for destruction. Nacabeba, a native medicine man, who saw his power waning, brained Father Gonzalo with a war club and celebrated his triumph with pagan orgies. Tapia thus became the proto-martyr of Jesuit New Spain. It was a terrible shock to the Black Robes, but the work went on. The confidence of the natives regained, conversions struck a new pace. By the end of the first decade there had been 10,000 baptisms, and the Jesuits had eight missions with substantial churches serving thirteen pueblos along Sinaloa and Mocorito Rivers.

People sometimes raise their eyebrows at such stories of wholesale baptisms at the beginning. But the explanation is simple. Infant heathens were baptized without catechism, the same as children of Christians. When the padres first arrived there was a large crop of infants awaiting them. Thereafter baptisms proceeded at a slower rate, for the annual increment of babes was smaller than the first accumulation; and older children and adults must first be instructed.

Almost simultaneously the Black Robes began their work on both slopes and in the heart of the Sierra Madre. With a gift of $22,000 from Governor del Rio and others, a college was established in Durango in 1593-4. By the end of the century six

through the excellent biography by Father William Eugene Shiels, entitled *Gonzalo de Tapia (1561-1594)*.

Jesuits of this house were founding missions among the Acaxees in Topia, among the Tepehuanes in central Durango, and at Parras among the Laguna tribes of Coahuila. Here was a field as large as that of Sinaloa.

Father Santarén became the saint of Topia; but Ruíz did not fall far behind him in prowess and fame. Together they assembled crowds, destroyed heathen idols, built churches, and baptized thousands. At first the natives were friendly. But Topia was a mining district, Indian labor was exploited, and a typical revolt followed. The Acaxees took up arms, murdered Spaniards, burned churches, and devastated mining towns. In the crisis Father Ruíz performed a prodigy. Eight hundred Acaxees besieged forty Spaniards at San Andrés. The beleaguered settlers struck back. In one of the sorties Ruíz marched ahead of the soldiers protected only by his Crucifix. "Clouds of arrows were discharged at the holy man, but not one struck him," we are told. The chronicler regarded this as evidence of divine protection—a scoffer might suspect bad native marksmanship.

Governor Urdiñola rushed from Durango with soldiers to relieve the siege. But Santarén became the hero of the episode. Going almost alone among the hostiles, by diplomacy he won them over and marched back to Topia at the head of a thousand natives bearing a cross and the white flag of peace. There was a love feast and the Indians rebuilt their churches. The conversion now spread to the Xiximes and other tribes, where there were baptisms by added thousands. The name of Santarén is still a household word in all that western Sierra, where he has become a legendary figure.

Fonte and Ramírez had parallel success in central and northern Durango among the virile Tepehuanes. Other evangelists turned northeast and founded missions in the famous lake region of Coahuila called Parras. The Lake People were docile and the progress of the Black Robes was flattering. But like other missions, those of Parras had their full measure of pioneer troubles. Smallpox carried off four hundred neophytes in 1608, shortly before Jamestown's "starving time." The Nazas River went on a rampage, destroyed the church of one mission, forced the people to flee from another, and nearly cost the life of a Black Robe.

First it was too wet, then too dry. Drought was followed by famine. But in spite of these calamities baptisms multiplied to thousands, and Parras became a precious jewel in Loyola's crown.

The scene now shifts back to Sinaloa.[8] On nearly every frontier the Black Robes found and relied on some secular champion. Such were Del Rio and Urdiñola in Durango. More famous in this rôle was Hurdaide, defender of the Faith in Sinaloa, contemporary of Canada's Champlain, of Virginia's John Smith, and of Plymouth's John Alden. His appointment as Captain at San Felipe was a decisive event in Sinaloa history and in Jesuit annals. For nearly three decades this bandy-legged soldier ruled the Pacific Coast like a mediaeval Count of the March. El Capitán, as he was known, was famous far and wide for the wax seals with which he authenticated his orders. Any naked Indian messenger bearing a bit of paper stamped with these symbols had safe passage among friends or foes.

Hurdaide's part was to make safe the northward advance of the Black Robes. The Sinaloa River vineyard had been firmly planted by Tapia and his successors. But the way to the Fuerte, the next main stream north, was blocked by hostile Suaquis, Sinaloas, and Tehuecos. One by one El Capitán subdued these tribes, by methods which were sometimes harsh and always spectacular. Fathers Ribas, Méndez, and Villalta followed where Hurdaide led. Ribas made his name enduring at Ahome, Villalta baptized four hundred Sinaloas the very first day, Méndez gleaned a similar harvest, and within a year the whole river valley west of the mountains had been added to Christendom. By placating the sturdy Yaquis and subduing the defiant mountain Tepahues, El Capitán next opened the way to Mayo River. Venerable Father Méndez, once more in the vanguard, headed a procession of Black Robes, three thousand children were baptized within two weeks, and seven pueblos were founded in a stretch of eighteen leagues. The 30,000 Mayos had come into the fold.

All the North Country now received a terrific shock, and mountain streams of Durango ran red with the blood of missionaries

[8] In a forthcoming book on the Jesuit missions of Sinaloa Rev. Dr. Peter M. Dunne has taken up the story where Father Shiels left off.

and settlers. In the Tepehuán missions the Black Robes had labored with gratifying success for more than two decades. Pueblos had been formed, churches built, thousands of Indians baptized. Then suddenly the Tepehuanes, led by a self-styled Messiah, rose in savage rebellion. In the fall of 1616 the natives of Santa Catalina sprung the trap and murdered Father Tobar. Two hundred Spaniards fell at Atotonilco, one of the victims being the Franciscan Father Gutiérrez. At Santiago Papasquiaro Fathers Orozco and Cisneros, with some Spanish families, were brutally slain in the cemetery. At Zape nearly a hundred victims fell, including Fathers Alavez, Del Valle, Fonte, and Moranta. Santarén, the saint of Topia, who happened to be in the vicinity, also went down in this bloody uprising. Soldiers hurried north, punished the rebels, gathered up the remains of the martyred missionaries, and took them to Durango, where they were buried with solemn honors. The Tepehuán rebellion was at an end. Undaunted, new Black Robes entered the field, and the missions were restored.

On the West Coast the missions now entered upon the period of their greatest prosperity. The Tepehuán revolt had caused uneasiness in Sinaloa, lest the still heathen Yaquis should join the rebels. Instead they welcomed the Black Robes in their own territory and became one of the most faithful Christian communities. Ribas moved up the map once more and became the apostle to this dauntless tribe, among whom he set up the Cross in May, 1617. Four thousand children and five hundred adults were baptized within a few weeks. More workers came, eight missions were founded, and soon most of the populous tribe were converted. As a granary for sterile California, these Yaqui missions later played a distinctive rôlé.

From the Yaquis it was but a step to the Lower Pimas and Opatas, higher up on the Yaqui River, where flourishing missions were begun in 1620, year of the Mayflower. Venerable Méndez, like Daniel Boone, ever on the frontier, went into the mountains to the Sahuaripas. Azpilcueto, at Batuco, was a fighting padre long remembered in this region. Hostile neighbors threatened to kill him and drive away his fellow Jesuits. "Hurry up" was the

message he sent them; then he coolly awaited their approach. When he fired a musket and brandished a machete they turned and fled, to return soon afterward as loyal neophytes. By now the Sinaloa-Sonora missions had reached impressive proportions. Baptisms there in 1621 alone were over 17,000. As a consequence of the great expansion a new rectorate was formed in the north with its capital at the Yaqui town of Tórin, where the thick-walled old Jesuit church on the hill, today in ruins, looks like a Roman fortress. The rectorate at this time employed eleven Black Robes, and embraced 60,000 Mayos, Yaquis, and Lower Pimas. On the whole West Coast there were 86,340 converts in fifty-five pueblos. Three years later the number was estimated at more than 100,000.

Several veterans now left the scene. In 1620 Ribas retired after sixteen years on the coast, to become provincial in Mexico and to write his great history. Six years later died Martín Pérez, veteran of all the West, for he had come with Tapia, the Founder. At the same time Sinaloa lost by death its matchless soldier, El Capitán Hurdaide. Few regions in America have had more colorful pioneers than these. Notwithstanding the loss of the Old Guard—or perhaps because of it, for Old Guards have a way of becoming impedimenta—the boom in the West continued. At Chínipas, high up in the barranca-gouged mountains, Julio Pascual won several thousand converts. In 1623 he was joined by Father Martínez. As he climbed the mountain trail to his new destination, Martínez unwittingly rode to his death. A week after his arrival both he and Pascual were martyred by the hostile Chief Cambeia. The Chínipas mission was now closed, to be reopened four decades later.

Martyrdom but fanned the apostolic flame. The Black Robes now pushed into Valle de Sonora, and to the upper waters of the many-forkéd Yaqui, thus carrying the Gospel to the border of the lands of the Apaches and the Upper Pimas. Valle de Sonora, site of Coronado's ill-fated San Gerónimo, was the most historic spot in all that mountain-girt region. It is from this charming little valley, peopled by gentle and industrious Opatas, that the vast state of Sonora gets its name. Father Castaño came here to live among the Opatas in 1638, shortly after Roger Williams fled to his Rhode Island wilderness. Within a year Castaño had baptized

three thousand natives, who lived in pueblos which still bear the names by which they then were known. More Jesuits came. Soon the northernmost missions, mainly of Opatas, were formed into a new rectorate,[9] where seven Jesuits were ministering to fourteen pueblos, and in which already there had been a total of more than 20,000 baptisms. *Fervet opus*, the chronicler wrote.

Paraguay itself could scarcely match this evangelical record. When Ribas published his famous *Triumphos de Nuestra Santa Fe* in 1645, the showing for a half century of labor was most impressive. West of the Sierra, in a stretch of some six hundred miles, there were now thirty-five head missions, each with from one to four towns, perhaps a hundred in all. Each of the head missions and many of the visitas, or substations, had fine churches, prosperous farms and well-stocked ranches. The mission books showed a total of more than 300,000 baptisms in the West to date. The presidio of San Felipe, the principal garrison, had a force of only forty-six soldiers. This fact alone, Bancroft remarks, shows how completely the natives had accepted missionary control.

Again the scene shifts. The Jesuit frontier west of the Sierra Madre had far outrun that on the eastern slope, a fact which may be explained in part by three circumstances. The Tepehuán revolt had caused a setback on the Central Plateau; hostile Tobosos and Conchos made mission life precarious there; and the field was partly covered by the Franciscans, who were active on the right flank of the Jesuits. But the Black Robes now made a new thrust forward, to work among the Tarahumares, those fleet-footed mountain people who lived on both slopes of the Sierra Madre in western Chihuahua. Before his martyrdom Fonte had made a small beginning there, and another nibble at the same bait was taken in 1630. Nine years later the Tarahumar missions were begun in earnest. Meanwhile the prosperous mining town of Parral was founded (1632) and became for a century the residence of the governors of Nueva Vizcaya. For that reason it played a vital part in subsequent Jesuit history.

Gerónimo Figueroa and José Pascual launched the New Deal

[9] This was in 1646.

for the Tarahumares in 1639 (year of the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut), when they founded missions on Conchos River north and west of Parral. A corps of Black Robes followed in their train, reaped a large harvest, and by 1650 carried the Cross north and west to the upper Yaqui River in Tarahumara Alta. But they had come to a most difficult frontier, quite different from that of Sonora. The incursions of wild Tobosos made life unsafe for priest, secular, or neophyte. Then the Tarahumares themselves, led by haughty Chief Tepóraca, rose in revolt, destroyed several missions, murdered Father Godínez (Beudin) at Papigóchic, and massacred all the Spanish settlers at the nearby town of Aguilar. The city of Guerrero marks the approximate site today. In a second onslaught Father Basile was decapitated and hanged to a cross. Legend has it that as he expired his spirit, in the form of a beautiful child, was seen to issue from his mouth and ascend to Heaven attended by two angels. Thus was lengthened the list of Jesuit martyrs. With a courage which commands more than admiration, the Black Robes reoccupied the southern missions. But with Papigóchic destroyed, Tarahumara Alta, the region of the high Sierra, was still solidly heathen.

For two decades the Tarahumar field remained stationary. Then another forward movement was begun in 1673. This, by the way, was the very year when Marquette reached the Mississippi River. French and Spanish Black Robes were approaching each other from opposite sides of the continent. The Tarahumara Alta missions were now reopened. Apostles Tardá and Guadalajara entered the Sierra as far as Yepómera and Tutuaca. The region was inconceivably difficult; mountains and barrancas were inexpressibly rough; only the hardiest men could endure the winter cold. Yet the missions flourished. Eight Jesuits in Tarahumara Alta were serving 4,000 natives in thirty-two pueblos in 1678, and within the next four years more than thirty new churches were built.

New names now appear on the honor roll. Foronda and Picolo, Neumann and Ratkay, led a procession of Black Robes from Italy and North Europe who greatly vitalized the work. For ten years they toiled on in the midst of privation and danger. Then another

revolt burst forth. There was a gold rush to Santa Rosa, and Spaniards summoned the Indians to forced labor. It was the story of Papigóchic repeated. In 1690 the natives murdered Fathers Foronda and Sánchez, expelled the rest of the Black Robes from the Sierra, and destroyed six mountain missions.[10] But peace was restored, the fearless Jesuits returned to their mountain exile, and rebuilt their churches "larger and better than before." Seven years later peace was disturbed by an outburst of native wizardry. This was precisely the time when witchcraft was epidemic in New England. If we can believe the evidence, broom voyages then were more numerous than airplane flights today. Feminism seems to have been at the zero hour in Tarahumara, for nothing is said of witches. But many wizards were captured and executed, for Spaniards were as silly as Englishmen or Germans of their day. The result was another uprising. Rebels destroyed four mountain missions and again the Jesuits fled. War was followed by the submission of the natives, and the return of the Black Robes to their posts.

It had been a bitter conflict. However, says Father Neumann, who was in the midst of it all, not half of the Tarahumar nation had taken up arms or deserted Christianity.[11] The whole situation was now changed by a new Indian policy. Henceforth little effort was made to move Tarahumares from their mountain homes to the plains. Henceforth they remained peaceful, and the Jesuits went forward with their apostolic labors among them. The circumstance carries a moral—the transplantation policy had been a mistake from the outset.

On the eastern edge of the Tarahumara, Chihuahua became a flourishing city and the seat of a Jesuit college, where a lay brother wrote a widely used treatise on medicine. Among the colorful Black Robes in the Tarahumara at a later date was Glandorff, who served some forty years at Tomochic. Famous for his gentle sanctity, he was even better known as the great hiker. He was afraid of a horse, but he could climb a mountain like a goat, and

[10] Yepómera, Tutuaca, Cahurichic, Tomochic, Mátachic, and Cocomorachic.

[11] Neumann, Joseph, *Historia Seditionum*, etc., Prague. No date on the title page. The preface is dated April 15, 1724.

in a cross-country run would put a mule to blush. He was a marvel even to the fleet-footed Tarahumares, who even today have world-wide renown for their own speed and endurance. According to legend Glandorff had magic shoes. An Indian servant worn with travel fell exhausted. Glandorff loaned him his moccasins and behold, he sprang up revived as if from a refreshing sleep, and without further halt continued his journey! This happened not once but many times. So runs the diverting legend.

Other frontiers were pushing forward. The Chínipas missions, after a blank of four decades, were restored by the Italians Prado and Pecoro in 1676, just when Tardá and Guadalajara were reviving the work in Tarahumara Alta. At the end of four years they had gathered into pueblos and converted 4,000 Indians. Square-jawed Salvatierra now joined his countrymen in the district, and became its most distinguished missionary. One of his exploits was his descent into the mammoth canyon of Urique, in size and awesomeness a close competitor of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. His naïve account of the adventure is refreshing. With a Cerocahui Indian he set forth to visit the stupendous gorge. The guide told him he could ride three leagues, then he would have to walk. This admonition proved unnecessary. "On seeing the precipice," says Salvatierra, "such was my terror that I immediately asked . . . if it was time to dismount. Without waiting for an answer I did not dismount but let myself fall off on the side opposite the precipice, sweating and trembling all over from fright. For there opened on the left a chasm whose bottom could not be seen, and on the right rose perpendicular walls of solid rock." He was on a mantel shelf suspended in mid-air. This account by Father Juan in 1684 should help deflate the egotism of twentieth-century "discoverers" of Urique canyon.

For ten years Salvatierra labored in the mountains, then went humbly to Guadalajara as college president. Seven years later, when on the way to Lower California, he made a flying trip to his beloved Guazápares, just in time to help check another rebellion. Not Salvatierra alone, but Fathers Ordaz and Illing likewise won fame in this war, one as a valiant defender of his mission, the other as an equally brave peacemaker. Each one left a precious legend in the land of the Chínipas.

The northwestward tide was now deflected. By this time the Black Robes had established Christianity in the Sierra Madre and on both its slopes, all the way from southern Durango to northern Chihuahua, and from Culiacán to the Arizona border. On the northeast they were blocked by the Apaches as by a Chinese wall. But the way was open to the west and northwest, in Lower California and in Pimería Alta, where large and friendly populations lay still beyond the rim of Christendom. To cultivate these extensive vineyards now came Kino, Campos, Salvatierra, Ugarte, and a valiant host of only less notable figures. Conspicuous among them all was Kino, Apostle to Pimería Alta. He arrived there in March, 1687, the very month when La Salle met his tragic death in the wilds of Texas. He was just well started when the Pimas destroyed several missions and martyred Father Saeta at Caborca. But for a quarter-century he kept on. He personally baptized more than 4,500 Indians.[12] His mission farms and ranches became the most prosperous in all Sonora. His demonstration that Lower California was a peninsula, not an island, reversed stubborn opinion. Of Pimería Alta he was not only Apostle, but also explorer, ethnologist, cartographer, defender, cattle king, and historian.

With his dream of converting Lower California, Father Kino infected Salvatierra, who translated the vision into reality. The peninsula was assigned to the Jesuits on condition that they finance it themselves. In return they were made practically autonomous, like their brethren in Paraguay. Aided by the giant athlete Ugarte, Salvatierra raised and organized the celebrated Pious Fund, which is still in existence. Thus financed, he maintained a little fleet of transports which plied back and forth across the Gulf, carrying livestock and other supplies for barren Lower California, obtained chiefly from the mainland Black Robes. By the time of his death he and his associates had founded seven flourishing missions among almost savage Indians, on a rocky tongue of land scarcely capable of sustaining civilized life.

Ugarte now carried the Cross to the hostile people on the lower

[12] Not 40,000, as every writer insists on saying, because they follow Ortega, who misread Kino's manuscript.

end of the Peninsula, where the names of Carranco and Tamaral were added to the already long list of Jesuit martyrs. In the mid-century new foundations were made in the north, until nearly a score of successful missions were in operation, and many thousand Indians were settled in pueblo life. During their stay of seventy years in Lower California, more than fifty Black Robes, all told, labored in exile in this barren cactus patch.

The last three Lower California missions were made possible by a Borgian heiress. The tale is told that when she made the gift she was asked in what country she wished the missions established. "In the most outlandish place in the world," she replied. The Jesuits consulted their atlases and returned the answer: "The most outlandish place in all the world is California." Of course, this is just a story.

The early eighteenth century witnessed a great shortage of missionaries. European wars drained the Spanish treasury. Then came a remarkable revival. In the far south the Black Robes took over the difficult Coras of Nayarit. In the north a new missionary host, mainly Germans, entered the field on both sides of the Gulf. In Sonora and Pimería Alta the Jesuit annals record the eighteenth-century labors of Black Robes with the very un-Spanish names of Bentz, Fraedenberg, Gerstner, Grashofer, Hoffenrichter, Hawe, Keller, Klever, Kolub, Kürtzel, Middendorff, Miner, Nentwig, Och, Paver, Rhuen, Sedelmayr, Segesser, Slesac, Step, Steiger, Wazet, and Weis. In Lower California in these days labored Baegert, Bischoff, Consag, Ducrue, Gasteiger, Gordon, Helen, Link, Neumayer, Retz, Tempis, Tuersch, and Wagner, all of non-Spanish extraction. In the transplantation of Christian culture to Western America these North Euorpeans played a distinctive part. Zealous missionaries, they were especially conspicuous as teachers of material thrift and a well ordered life.

By these men Kino's old missions were restored and new ones founded. Keller and Sedelmayr retraced some of Kino's trails to the Gila and the Colorado Rivers. They, Consag, and Link revived Kino's plan to extend missions to the Colorado, and to supply Lower California by a land route around the head of the Gulf. In the midst of their labors the Pimas rose once more in rebellion,

and killed Tello at Caborca and Rhuen at Sonóita. The West Coast martyrs now numbered one more than a score.

A large missionary province, the result of many years of development, was like a tree. The fresh growth was near the top. So it was with the Province of New Spain. The roots of the plant were the central organization in Europe and Mexico. The colleges and other permanent foundations at the principal centers on the way north represented the trunk. As time went on, this trunk gradually became bare of missionary verdure. Between Durango and Pimería Alta in the eighteenth century there were missions in all stages of evolution, some already secularized, others old and stable, but without new blood from heathendom; still others, on the periphery, filled with the vigor characteristic of youth.

The Jesuits had always labored under a degree of insecurity due to causes other than Indian revolts. Frequently there was pressure for secularizing the missions, a step which was contemplated in the system. This pressure came from bishops for various reasons, from the government which wished to collect tribute, or from secular neighbors who were greedy for Indian lands or the right to exploit Indian labor. In the middle eighteenth century the missions of the Tepehuanes and Tarahumara Baja were thus turned over to the parish clergy.

Then came the final blow—the Expulsion. For reasons best known to himself and his advisers, Carlos III decided to expel the Jesuits from the whole of the Spanish empire. The edict fell in 1767. All missionaries and other Black Robes in New Spain were arrested, dispossessed, hurried to Vera Cruz, carried to Spain, imprisoned there, or distributed in other lands. Many of the expatriates died of disease or hardship on the way. Some of the missions thus left vacant were secularized, others were put in charge of the Franciscans. Here is where Serra comes into the California story. A work of two centuries was at an end. But the service of the Black Robes to the land of their toil did not cease even now. Many of them spent their prison hours writing of the country they loved. Clavigero composed his history of California, Baegert his *Nachrichten*, Pfefferkorn his book on Sonora, Ducrue his story of the expulsion from the Peninsula.

These and other works were published. Still others remain in manuscript and await the modern historian, for whom they will constitute a fresh fountain of inspiration and knowledge.

IV

Thus far this paper has been devoted to sketching in broadest outline the work of the Jesuits in New Spain, with special reference to the northward advance of the missionary frontier. The deep significance of it all would call for another paper of equal or greater length. There is space here for only a few observations.

The Black Robe story is one of Homeric quality. It is filled with picturesque men, like Santarén, who vied with the Pied Piper of Hamlen; Ruíz, who was arrow proof; Azpilcueto, who bluffed an Indian horde with blunderbuss and machete; Contreras, who led the defense of Cocóspera against an Apache attack; Kino, the hard-riding cowman; Glandorff, the Black Robe hiker with the magic shoes. The tale is full of diverting humor and of exalting edification. The actors were human beings, who either had a sense of humor or were humorous because they lacked it.

These missionaries were the adventurers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, successors to the conquistadores of an earlier day. They traveled vast distances, coped with rugged nature and the fickle savage, performed astounding physical feats, won amazing victories over mountains, rivers, hunger, cold, and thirst.

Missionary life demanded the highest qualities of manhood—character, intelligence, courage, resourcefulness, health, and endurance. Missionaries were called upon to face physical dangers and hardships almost beyond belief. They went among heathen without escorts, into places where soldiers dared not tread. They were liable at any time to hear the blood-curdling war whoop or to see the destroying fire by night. They were ever at the mercy of the whims of sensitive Indians, or of jealous and vengeful medicine men. Even to baptize a child was often perilous, for if it died the death might be charged to the "bad medicine" of the padre. Martyrdom was always a very distinct possibility. Most Black Robes came to America hoping to win this glorious crown,

many still coveted it after seeing real Indians, and when martyrdom stared them in the face they met it with transcendent heroism.

Their hardest trial, more to be feared than death, was loneliness, for they lived many leagues apart and saw their own kind only at long intervals. Hence they treasured visits from distant neighbors, and looked forward with the eagerness of a homesick boy to the church dedications and celebrations which brought them for a brief time together; or to the annual journey to a neighbor mission to fulfill their religious obligations.

Not every Black Robe was fit for service in the missions. Some lacked the temperament or the physical stamina, some could not learn the Indian languages. Such were given employment of a different sort. More than one Jesuit who found himself unsuited for the frontier was sent to be professor or president in some college in softer surroundings. Many of these Jesuits had in their veins the best blood of Europe. Such were Hernando Tobar, grand-nephew of Viceroy Mendoza; Pedro Velasco, relative of another viceroy; Ratkay, the Hungarian noble who had been a page at the Court of Vienna; and Salvatierra, son of a noble house of Spain and Italy. The Black Robes belonged to their age. They had an unfaltering faith in God and His omnipotence. Miracles were not only possible, but often passed before their eyes. They believed in and talked much of predestination. Indeed, they recognized it every time they came upon and baptized a dying ancient. The man and his wife, each two hundred and fifty years old, who were baptized by Ribas, were clear examples of this exercise of divine mercy, by which two lives were extended till the evangelist arrived.

Being theologians and spiritual practitioners, the Black Robes were naturally interested in all religious and spiritual phenomena. True to their day, they believed not only in a personal God, but also in a personal Devil, the same Devil so well known to Cotton Mather. The missionaries saw all around them patent evidence of the malice and of the mischief done by His Satanic Majesty and his obedient imps. They believed in signs and portents. Eclipses, earthquakes, epidemics, and all unusual phenomena were interpreted as divine or diabolic manifestations, with super-

natural cause and significance. Witchcraft was taken for granted by seventeenth-century Jesuits, and its evils were often encountered, just as was the case in Puritan New England and in all contemporary Europe. Spaniards brought with them all the European phraseology of witchcraft, and the usual machinery for rooting it out.

A catalogue of the manifold services of the missionaries would be long and varied. In their daily routine, like the monks of old, they performed the most menial tasks. They cooked, washed, plowed, planted, harvested, handled stock, made adobes, built houses and erected churches. They served as nurses and doctors in the huts of the natives. During epidemics they were called from pillar to post, lacking time even to eat or sleep. "For in these missions," says Father Neumann, "there is but one craftsman: the missionary himself. He alone must serve both himself and others. He must be cobbler, tailor, mason, carpenter, cook, nurse for the sick—in a word, everything."

The Black Robes converted the natives to Christianity, baptizing in New Spain alone, before the expulsion, probably not less than two millions. They also brought to the Indians the rudiments of Christian civilization, teaching them decent habits, agriculture, stock raising, the handicrafts, building, and myriad other things. The less civilized natives were the ones most remolded by mission life.

A comparison will again help us. The Jesuits of New France played a highly important part in the religious, educational, and social life of the French part of the colony. But by reason of circumstances beyond their control, they did relatively little toward transforming the society of the Indian population of the vast areas over which they traveled. The Jesuits of New Spain, on the other hand, were primary agents during a century and three-quarters in the transformation of a large native population from a roving to a sedentary life, with attendant cultural changes. Indeed, a considerable part of the inhabitants of Western Mexico today are descended from ancestors, on one side or the other, who got their first contact with European civilization as neophytes in a Jesuit mission. That this was possible in one case and not in

the other, was due largely to the contrasting views of the respective nations under whom the Jesuits worked. Spain considered the Indian worth civilizing as well as converting, and proceeded with zeal and firmness to bring it about. In the process the missionaries were the government's best collaborators.

The Black Robes performed many services for the border Spaniards as well as for the neophytes. The mission was the agricultural unit for a large part of frontier Spanish America. There the missionary organized and directed most of the agricultural labor. The mission not only raised produce for its own subsistence, but from the surplus it supplied neighboring soldiers, miners and cattlemen with agricultural products. The missionaries, by gentle means, subdued and managed the Indians, went as diplomats to hostile tribes, and helped to pacify the frontier in time of trouble. The mission itself, with its fortified plant and its usually loyal native defenders, often served as a bulwark against hostile neighbors. Regarding frontier matters, religious or secular, including international relations, the missionaries helped to mold the opinions of central officials, and were often called to Mexico, or even to Spain and Rome, to give advice. Instructions issued from Europe on such matters were both shaped and interpreted by the men on the frontier, for they were the ones who best knew conditions.

The importance of the Black Robes as teachers and founders of colleges has been touched upon in earlier paragraphs. Their scholarly services were not confined to teaching. They wrote learned books on a great variety of subjects. Incidentally to their frontier work they were explorers, cartographers and ethnologists. Ribas declared them linguists by divine gift, and certain it is that they did much to reduce to grammar and to preserve the languages of many tribes, some of which have long since disappeared.

Finally, the Jesuits were the principal historians of early Western North America. Pérez de Ribas, Kino, Venegas, Alegre, Ortega, Baegert, Pfefferkorn and the author of the *Rudo Ensayo* all wrote chronicles which will never be displaced. The Black Robes of New France left us as a legacy the famous Jesuit *Relations* which were assembled by Cramoisy and put into English

by Thwaites. These ample records of life in the wilderness are justly celebrated among the treasures of pioneer days in heathen America. They constitute a precious body of historical literature. Equally precious in quality and vastly greater in bulk are the similar Jesuit writings left behind by the Black Robes of New Spain. Most of these have yet to be assembled and edited, a gigantic task toward which a few students are now directing their attention.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

THE CATHOLIC CONTRIBUTION TO RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN COLONIAL AMERICA*

The first direct application of the ideal of religious liberty in Colonial America was coincident with the founding of the colony of Maryland, the tercentennial of which is being observed this year. To understand fully the motives that prompted George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, to found an American colony, it is necessary to go back to events that occurred in England some years preceding the sailing of the *Ark* and the *Dove* from the Isle of Wight in the autumn of 1633. George Calvert drafted the Charter of Maryland three years before the embarking of the voyagers to Maryland. But the Charter of Maryland was in its main features a reproduction of the Charter of Avalon which Calvert drafted himself and which was given him by royal grant in 1623. It is important therefore to consider what was in the mind of Calvert when he drafted the original charter.

In the winter of 1622-23 Calvert was secretary of state in the court of James the First. During this period he was not only drafting the charter for his colony in Newfoundland which was said to have been named in honor of the Roman monk Avalonius, fabled to have preached the Christian gospel to the Britons for the first time; he also had charge of the negotiations for the treaty for the marriage of the Crown Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta. He was a strong adherent of the Spanish treaty and thus became one of the leaders of the so-called Spanish party which was largely made up of the Catholics of England. The Parliamentary or Protestant party was naturally opposed to an alliance with a Catholic power. The secretary was drawn into close contact with the Catholic clergy and conducted negotiations with Rome, and Rome insisted that before the proposed marriage could be sanctioned there must be a cessation of the persecution

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of English Catholics that had been visited upon them since the discovery of the Gunpowder plot. In the original treaty prepared in Latin by Calvert was a strong guaranty of religious liberty and the Catholics saw hope of the end of their troubles if the treaty was ratified.

The proposed alliance failed but Calvert, remaining true to the cause he favored, became a member of a discredited party. The same parliament which rejected the Spanish treaty demanded the reinforcement of the penal laws against Catholics and a weak king yielded to popular clamor.

When in 1625 Calvert as secretary of state was appointed a member of a commission to examine parties charged with errors of faith tending to schism against the established church, an act which was aimed not only against Catholics but Baptists and Puritans as well, he placed his resignation in the hands of the king and made avowal that he was no longer a communicant of the Church of England and openly professed his faith in the Roman Catholic Church. This was a step that only a man of deep faith and great courage could have taken, for it meant for him political exile. No historian has ever been heard to say that his change of faith at this time was not real and sincere. We have the authority of John Fiske and other impartial historians that he seemed always to have had a leaning toward the Church of Rome, and there is the testimony of several of his contemporaries that he had been contemplating taking this step for some time. Then it is known that a few months before he became engaged on his work on the Spanish treaty and the preparation of his Charter of Avalon he had mourned the loss of his wife to whom he was devotedly attached, and that her death had deeply stirred his religious feelings.

George Calvert at a time when, to quote the words of Dean Swift, most men had just enough religion to make them hate one another but not enough to make them love one another, had qualities of character that set him apart from other men in public office. He was tolerant in a day of intolerance, open minded during a reign of bigotry, kind and considerate of others when cruelty was easily excused and quickly condoned and charitable in his judg-

ment of his fellow men when harsh judgment was the order of the day.

Almost immediately after his retirement from public office he turned his eyes toward America as a place of refuge for his co-religionists. He had already received a grant of lands on the bleak coast of Newfoundland which had been pictured to him in glowing colors by one whose visit had been in the month of June. Unfortunately "it was not always June in Avalon." The charter which became the basis of the Charter of Maryland was so worded by Calvert that it opened wide the door to religious liberty. It significantly omitted all restrictions, disabilities and test oaths that may be found in earlier charters. As Father Hughes says:

> Calvert left in their native habitat those sanguinary and predatory intrigues which still found England a happy hunting ground and were to keep Ireland a rich preserve for two centuries to come, and keeping a free hand for equipping conscience and religion with their rights, he assured a civil freedom, a respectable and genial home.

One distinct departure he made in colony building. He did not deny to others the same liberty which he sought for himself and those of his faith. His purpose to provide a refuge for both Catholics and Protestants is indicated in several ways. On his first voyage he was accompanied by members and clergy of both faiths and it is recorded that Mass was said and services conducted by Protestant clergy under the same roof but in different rooms. This did not deter an over-zealous Protestant clergyman who had been Calvert's guest, from returning to England and reporting "popish doings" in the new colony. To this member of the clergy it was unthinkable that Catholics and Protestants should worship peacefully in the same place each according to their own manner, under English law.

One winter spent at Avalon convinced George Calvert that his colony could not survive the rigors of the Newfoundland climate, and the following spring he and his colonists sailed for a sunnier clime. The beauties of the Chesapeake Bay country attracted him and he sought and obtained a grant from King Charles of lands between Virginia and what is now Pennsylvania which was named

Maryland in honor of the Catholic consort of the king. Again he prepared his own charter and again it was made manifest that his colonial project in America was to carry out his own conception of religious liberty.

In the preparation of his plans of colonization Calvert had the advice and assistance of the missionary priests of the Society of Jesus, with whom he had most close relations. These included Father Richard Blount, the provincial; Father Henry More, great-grandson of the martyred chancellor Sir Thomas More, whose vision of the ideal of religious liberty in the *Utopia* was to have its first practical application in the colony of Maryland; and Father Andrew White, the apostle of Maryland, whose *Declaratio Coloniae* set forth the intention and plans of Lord Baltimore, and these included sowing the seeds of the Christian religion.

These mission priests were of that gallant company which since the martyrdom of Edmund Campion on the gallows of Tyburn had borne the brunt of the persecution because they made the brave but vain attempt to restore their native country to the ancient faith. The full support of the Society of Jesus in England was given to the Maryland project notwithstanding that it was well known that men of all faiths were invited to become settlers in the new colony with the assurance of freedom of religious worship. In a document in the Jesuit archives at Stonyhurst may be found answers prepared by the provincial to certain objections that had been raised against the colonization plans of Calvert, and in one of these answers it is declared that "conversion in matters of religion, if it be forced, should give little satisfaction to a wise state." A Jesuit mission band led by Father White accompanied the first voyage to Maryland and established the first American Jesuit mission.

George Calvert died before the charter he prepared had passed the great seal and his eldest son Cecil became the second Lord Baltimore and Lord Proprietary of Maryland. The son had inherited his father's intentions and ideals as well as his title and estate.

The claim has been made that there was no good reason for any group of English Catholics to seek refuge from persecution beyond the seas during the period preceding the departure of the *Ark* and

the *Dove* and that the enterprise was therefore purely a commercial one. Merely a glance at contemporaneous English history will disclose the growing danger to the liberties of Catholics during the first years of the reign of Charles. In 1629 when the king dissolved parliament, Catholic recusants were persecuted with a renewed severity, and this continued until the first voyage to Maryland. When George Calvert was maturing his plans for the settlement of Avalon it was not so much the policy of the king as it was that of the parliamentary party which constituted the menace to Catholics. So it was when Cecil Calvert was carrying out his father's plans for the colonization of Maryland, the rising tide of Puritanism that made a migration to America desirable if not necessary for the enjoyment of religious rights. The very active opposition to the expedition on the eve of departure, which induced the second Lord Baltimore suddenly to change his plans to accompany the voyage and to remain in England in order to protect the charter against its enemies, is indicative of the situation that existed. It may be easy to attribute motives for this venture other than to secure religious liberty, but to the father who planned it and to the sons who led it the need of a greater freedom was very real. It was the realization of this need and the quest for this unattained ideal that accomplished the end they sought.

In the time allotted I cannot fully discuss the various forces and influences, some expressed silently in the home and family life of the colonists, some finding open expression in practical policy and written law, which were at work to establish the principle of religious liberty in early Maryland. I can give but the barest outline of certain outstanding historic facts which reveal a policy and practice the like of which cannot be shown in the history of any of the other American colonies. First there are the written instructions given by Cecil Calvert to the governor and commissioners who were Catholics to see that no scandal or offense be given to the Protestants who constituted fully half of the voyagers, and that the Catholics when there might arise any discourse concerning matters of religion, should remain silent. I submit that in those days of bitter religious controversy the mandate of silence

was a most sensible remedy. These instructions were to be observed and were observed on land as well as at sea and accomplished more for the peace of the colony than all the laws and statutes that were ever passed. Real religious liberty is born of the spirit and not of the law. Then there was the form of oath required of the governor and other magistrates. This oath prescribed that no distinction be made in the discharge of official duties for or in respect of religion and that if any person be molested on account of his religion, the person molested must be protected and the offender punished.

How this form of oath was lived up to is shown in two adjudicated cases where Protestants were protected in the exercise of their religion. These are the Lewis and Gerard cases. These are familiar to most of you and I will not relate the circumstances except to call your attention to the fact that in the Lewis case where Protestants were disturbed while reading a book of sermons the incident took place at St. Inigoes Manor, the residence of the Jesuit missionaries. The land at St. Inigoes was held for the use of the mission but under the terms of plantation title was held in the name of Thomas Copley, Esq., for having brought over fourteen colonists in 1637. Thomas Copley was Father Copley, one of the Jesuit mission priests. Lewis the offender was the Catholic overseer of Father Copley at St. Inigoes, and the complainants were servants employed at the mission station. It appears from the record of the trial that one of the servants complained to Father Copley of the act of his overseer in ordering him to desist from the further reading of Protestant sermons and for casting aspersions upon Protestant ministers, and that Father Copley blamed Lewis for his overzeal and said that it was fair that he should be punished. Lewis was convicted and heavily fined by a court composed entirely of Catholics including Governor Leonard Calvert, brother of the Lord Proprietary. Then there was the case of Dr. Thomas Gerard, a Catholic who, under some pretext had run off with the books and key of the Protestant chapel, was ordered to return them and pay a fine which was to be used to defray the salary of the first Protestant minister who should arrive in the colony. The decision in this case needs to be contrasted

with the action of the Protestant assembly some years later under the rule of the royal governors when the Catholic chapel at St. Mary's was ordered to be closed and the key thrown away.

It is difficult to conceive of any more convincing proof of the establishment and practice of religious liberty in early Maryland and of the determination of the Catholic authorities of the colony to afford protection to non-Catholics in the exercise of their religion, than is to be found in these two cases. This was more than a mere toleration.

No colony passed so few laws as early Catholic Maryland and what laws were passed were couched in such simple language that they could be easily understood. This brought about a situation that caused a letter-writer—a former indentured servant—to declare that a lawyer who came to Maryland seeking to build up a lucrative practice might better burn his buckram bag or hang it upon a peg until its antiquity had eaten it up with dust and dirt. For several years the colonists seemed to get along very well without any laws of their own. So far as religious liberty was concerned all that was needed was the carrying out of a practical policy, the following of simple instructions and due regard to the oaths of office.

Religious liberty is the parent of civil liberty. There can be no real religious liberty where the freeman's franchise is restricted and where there is no equality before the law. In early Maryland as in no other colony at the time the voting franchise was freely bestowed and was dependent neither upon ownership of property nor membership in any church. A little code of laws passed in 1639, the first to have legal effect, was a masterpiece of codification. A more comprehensive set of laws has seldom been expressed in so few words. Under the charter the Lord Proprietary was given the right to enact laws only by and with the consent of the freeman. Cecil Calvert early yielded to the freemen the right to initiate legislation. The freemen availed themselves of this right in the code of 1639 which was strictly home-rule legislation. This code deserves more discussion than I have the time to give. In the simple act for church liberties is found the use of the plural "Holy Churches" and not "Holy Church." The words "Holy

Churches" is found in the original manuscript in the handwriting of John Lewger the secretary which is in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. With the exception of the act for church liberties there is no reference to religion. No fines were ever imposed for non-attendance at church as in Massachusetts and Virginia, and no provision was made for the subsidy of any church or for the support of the clergy. The laws were more remedial than penal and there was no long list of criminal offenses. While Massachusetts was building jails in every county there were no jails in Maryland. As late as 1642 when the sheriff at St. Mary's was accused of allowing a prisoner to escape, his defense was that the only jail was his own house and the only means of restraint were his own hands.

During the first half-century when there was interference from without, Maryland presents the fairest picture that can be found in any of the thirteen original colonies. The historian Bancroft says that Maryland was

> the abode of happiness and liberty. Conscience was without restraint; a mild and liberal proprietary conceded every measure which the welfare of the colony required—domestic union, a happy concert between all the branches of government, an increasing emigration, a productive commerce, a fertile soil which Heaven had richly favored with rivers and deep bays, united to perfect the scene of felicity and content. . . Emigrants arrived from every clime and the colonial assembly extended its sympathies to many nations as well as many sects.

The Quaker, Wenlock Christenson, whipped out of Massachusetts and later sentenced to death, tried to find a haven in Rhode Island but finally left the colony of "lively experiment" and came to Maryland where he lived in peace to the end of his days and named his home "The End of Controversy." Here indeed was a land of sanctuary.

I have little to say of the so-called Act of Toleration of 1649 with its dire penalties for blasphemy against the Holy Trinity. This act had nothing to do with the establishment of religious liberty. Religious liberty was established and put into practical operation long before this act was passed. At the best it was a compromise measure and passed at a time when a group of Protes-

tants whose idea of tolerance meant only tolerance for themselves, was fast gaining control of the colony. A striking instance of where the spirit was shown to have been greater than the law was in the case of the Jew, Dr. Jacob Lumbrozo. Some over-zealous Puritans set a trap for the doctor. Although technically guilty under the Act of 1649, he was released from custody and granted the privileges and immunities of a freeman. It was foreign to the practice of the Catholic Lords Baltimore to persecute either Christian or Jew.

Maryland ceased to be the land of sanctuary after the Revolution of 1688 and the consequent overthrow of the Baltimore government. Catholics then found themselves deprived of those rights and liberties which were never denied to anyone while the government was in control of those of their own faith. There had previously been periods of usurpation when the colony was seized by those who turned on their benefactor when the opportunity offered, but these were of brief duration. The revolt of 1688 was to place Maryland under the bondage of intolerance until the dawn of American independence, nearly a full century later.

The question may be asked, was the Maryland venture in religious liberty a mere temporary expedient without lasting result and of no more significance than a passing scene on the panorama of history soon to be forgotten? The period between the Revolution of 1688 and the American Revolution is a neglected chapter of Maryland colonial history. It has been overlooked that all through this period there were watchmen on the Towers of Israel.

On the eve of the overthrow of the government of Lord Baltimore there came to Maryland, Charles Carroll the grandfather of the more famous Charles Carroll of Carrollton. A native of Ireland, a graduate of the Catholic college of Douai in France, a student of the Inner Temple and a member of the English bar, he came as attorney-general of the province by appointment of the third Lord Baltimore who was then in England. He came in search of religious liberty. Deeply significant was the change he made in the motto of his family from "Strong in Faith" to "Liberty in all things." Hardly had he been settled in his new abode when the rebellion started by the renegade Coode robbed

him of the sanctuary he sought. He then became the stalwart champion of the Catholic colonists and espoused the cause of the Protestant non-conformists in his opposition to church establishment.

There are many evidences of the purpose of the third Lord Baltimore to make Charles Carroll his real successor in order to safeguard the family tradition from his eldest son who not long before his father's death had turned from Catholic to Anglican in order to have the government of the colony restored to him with all its fees and emoluments. Benedict Calvert, the fourth Lord Baltimore, received his earthly reward but did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his apostasy. His descendants did not restore religious liberty to Maryland and their lives did no honor to the House of Baltimore. But the torch of freedom had been handed to other and safer hands. Charles Carroll was in London at the time of Lord Baltimore's death where he had been interceding for the cause of liberty and justice in Maryland with the English colonial authorities. After the death of Lord Baltimore Carroll acted as attorney for Lady Baltimore, to whom he was related by marriage, in the settlement of Lord Baltimore's estate.

When Carroll returned to Maryland it was to find the Royal Governor Hart starting on a program of anti-Catholic legislation that would have done credit to a Cecil or a Walsingham. Two years later Catholics were deprived of the voting franchise. After this was accomplished Hart attempted the confiscation of the property of the Jesuits on the ground that they were given for superstitious uses. Charles Carroll stood in the way. There was no confiscation although it was plain that this was what the governor intended.

In 1720 the first Charles Carroll died and in the same year Hart was replaced as governor by Charles Calvert, an uncle of the proprietary. After Hart had gone there was peace and quiet in Maryland and it began to look as if there might come a return of what the historian McMahon has described as the golden age of colonial existence. But the House of Baltimore had mixed religion with politics and the fifth Lord Baltimore now coming to his majority was not to be guided by the traditional policy of his

progenitors. We must look to the descendants of Charles Carroll to find how the spirit of liberty and equality was to be kept alive.

When Charles Carroll died his eldest living son was finishing his course of studies at the Jesuit College at St. Omer in Flanders. He had intended to enter the Inner Temple, London, for the study of law but was obliged to change his plans and at the age of twenty-one returned to Maryland. After his return there began for the young Carroll a long struggle for the recognition of religious liberty. He was able to use his influence to keep the upper house of the assembly from concurring in the passage of much drastic anti-Catholic legislation that came from the lower house. His influence and that of other Catholics of standing and prominence together with the more liberal element of the Protestants was sufficient to have the legislation stop short of confiscation and the prevention of private religious worship.

The second Charles Carroll sent his son who later became known as Charles Carroll of Carrollton, across the sea to St. Omer's for his collegiate training. The son, after pursuing graduate studies at three other colleges in France, taking about all the courses a student could take in those days, spent five years studying law at the Inner Temple, London, and also studied surveying. During his long years of study abroad, some seventeen years, mostly under Jesuit instructors, his father wrote frequently to him telling him the story of the early years of the colony and of the long struggle for religious liberty. In this way Charles Carroll of Carrollton before his return to America caught the vision of the Founders of Maryland.

He returned in 1765 and it was not long before he took a leading part in preparation for the struggle for independence. His famous debate with Daniel Dulaney, the leader of the Maryland bar and afterwards a Tory, on the question of the levying of taxes for the fees of public officials and for the support of the clergy won for him popular approval and the title of the "first citizen of Maryland." The final result was that the people of the colony realizing the worth of Carroll demanded that he and all those of his faith should no longer be disfranchised. On the eve of the Revolution

the law was changed and so after many years Protestants and Catholics could again go to the polls together.

When Charles Carroll of Carrollton sailed for France to begin his studies at St. Omer's he was accompanied by his cousin John Carroll of Rock Creek, Maryland. After finishing his course at St. Omer's, John Carroll entered the Jesuit novitiate at Watten preparatory to becoming a member of the Society of Jesus. After the suppression of the Jesuit Order Father Carroll returned to Maryland. At his mother's house at Rock Creek he assembled a congregation of Catholics which grew so rapidly that soon the first Catholic church in Maryland under the secular clergy was erected. He gave to the cause of American independence his full support. A few months before the colonies declared their independence of Great Britain he was asked to accompany the mission to Canada which was composed of Benjamin Franklin, Charles Carroll and Samuel Chase.

It is obvious that the Carrolls were asked to serve on this mission because the large majority of the Canadians whose support was sought for the American cause were of the Catholic faith. It was a difficult task and Father Carroll was reluctant to undertake it. What strongly influenced him to accept the duty was the solemn promise of religious liberty the mission was authorized to make to the Catholics of Canada. "You are to declare," the instructions read, "that we hold sacred the rights of conscience and may promise to the whole people solemnly in our name the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion." As the representatives of Catholic priesthood and laity, the two Carrolls could well regard and in fact did so regard the promise of religious liberty they were authorized to make to the Canadians to be a token of a pledge that full religious liberty would be the policy of the new republic.

The mission failed so far as inducing the Canadians to take up arms against the Mother Country is concerned, but according to the testimony of two British generals it was due to the labors of the mission that the great mass of Canadians remained neutral throughout the war. As a member of the priesthood Father Carroll refused to lend his aid to arouse any open insurrection but did do

all that he could to induce the Canadian Catholics to remain neutral.

We come now to the harvest from the early planting of the seeds of religious liberty on the banks of the St. Mary's. Through an unbroken sequence of events from the death of the last of the Catholic Calverts through three generations of Carrolls can be traced a thread of influence for religious liberty all through the colonial period, through the Revolution and finally coming to the doors of the first Congress of the United States.

The friends of religious liberty were not satisfied with the so-called religious liberty clause in the Federal Constitution, which merely provided that no religious test should be required of federal office holders. This did not even indicate that the convention was in favor of positive religious liberty. George Mason presented in the Virginia Convention of 1776 a bill of rights containing a broad religious liberty clause prepared by Patrick Henry and amended by Madison. This was a precedent for a similar clause in the Federal Constitution but when the time came no attempt was made to have the convention adopt it.

As soon as independence was won there was a movement to give priority to the Protestant religion in the framework of the new government. This is indicated in a number of anonymous communications in the press and particularly in a series of articles printed in the *Columbian Magazine* published in Philadelphia which made a veiled attack upon the Catholic religion. These appeared during the opening sessions of the Constitutional Convention. The only one to reply to these was John Carroll but his reply was withheld from publication until after the adjournment of the convention and then in expurgated form. Two years later and just before the opening of the first Congress which was expected to adopt a bill of rights to be incorporated in the Constitution, another anonymous article appeared, this time in the *United States Gazette* published in New York where the Congress was to be held. The significant title of the article was "The Importance of the Protestant Religion Politically Considered." The writer claimed it was the Protestant Religion "which laid the foundations of this new and great empire" and demanded for it, special privileges

and preëmptions even to the extent of hinting that the Protestant clergy should be subsidized. Again John Carroll replied but this time there was no delay. His article appeared in the *Gazette* of June 10, 1789. It was one of the strongest appeals for religious liberty that has ever been made. I quote from a portion of his reply:

> I am anxious to guard against the impression intended by such insinuations not merely for the sake of any one profession but from an earnest regard to preserve inviolate forever in our new empire the great principles of religious freedom. The constitutions of some of the states continue still to entrench on the sacred rights of conscience and men who have bled and opened their purse as freely in the cause of liberty and independence as any other citizens are most unjustly excluded from the advantage which they contributed to establish. But if bigotry and narrow prejudice have hitherto prevented the cure of these evils be it the duty of every lover of peace and justice to extend them no further!

The first series of articles attacking the Catholic religion appearing in a paper published in Philadelphia where the Constitutional Convention was being held and the second attack appearing in New York just as the first Congress was convening show that all these attacks were part of a well timed and cleverly prepared propaganda.

Father Carroll's replies to these articles reveal him as the outstanding exponent of religious liberty and equality of rights during these early days of the nation. He wrote in the spirit of the Old Maryland and the New America. No member of the clergy of his day was more thoroughly American in thought and spirit. Dr. Guilday in his *Life of John Carroll* says that "no American living at the time caught so quickly and indelibly the spirit of the new republic."

When John Carroll's reply appeared in the *Gazette of the United States*, he had just been elected bishop of his Church by the free choice of his fellow American clergy. Both Jefferson and Franklin had favored his choice and made known their approval to the Pope. He had the warm friendship and respect of not only Washington but of many of the members of the new cabinet and other men in public life including Hamilton and Madison. He

was in a position of peculiar influence. His latest plea for the recognition of the principle of religious liberty was both timely and effective.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton was to be a member of the new Senate. Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek, an elder brother of Bishop Carroll, was to be a member of the House of Representatives. Daniel Carroll was a graduate of St. Omer's, had been a member of the Continental Congress and had taken an active part in support of the War for Independence. He was a delegate from Maryland to the Constitutional Convention, proving himself a statesman of vision and ability in colaboring with Judge James Wilson of Pennsylvania in opposing the movement for the election of President by the Congress. With Wilson he favored the election of President by the people, finally bringing about the compromise plan of the Electoral College which was original with Charles Carroll of Carrollton. His work in the Constitutional Convention has never been fully recognized.

Those who favored the incorporation of a bill of rights in the Constitution patiently waited for the opening of the first Congress when the opportunity would be afforded for introducing the amendments that they favored. Madison and Jefferson were determined that a bill of rights should be embodied in the amendments including a provision for religious liberty. Washington was not averse to this plan.

The proposed amendment to the Constitution recognizing religious liberty came before the House of Representatives sitting as a committee of the whole on August 15, 1789. Daniel Carroll took a leading part in the debate; in fact he was the first speaker to favor unqualifiedly the proposed amendment. Madison, who was leader of the House, apparently allowed Carroll to open debate for the proponents of the amendment. Carroll explained the purpose of the measure and made the strongest plea for its adoption that is recorded.

The amendment as finally passed in the House by a vote of only 31 to 20 read: *Congress shall make no laws touching religion or infringing the rights of conscience.* All of the proposed amendments finally went to the Senate for concurrence. The Senate sat

behind closed doors and there is no official record of the debate. This much is known. Senator Carroll was chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary and was also chairman of the Senate Committee on Conference. The Committee on Conference recommended the amendments as finally adopted including the religious liberty clause which was a part of the first amendment and read: *Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.*

It is not known whether Charles Carroll spoke on the question of religious liberty in the Senate debate on the proposed amendments, but it is a natural and almost necessary deduction that he did when the matter came up for discussion in the Conference Committee and that it was largely due to his influence that favorable action was taken by the committee on the religious clause. Charles Carroll was as strong an advocate of religious liberty as was Bishop Carroll. In a letter to a Protestant minister he wrote:

> To obtain religious as well as civil liberty I entered zealously into the Revolution. God grant that religious liberty may be preserved in these states to the end of time.

The religious liberty clause which became a part of the first amendment and as adopted by the committee of conference declared:

> *Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.*

Thus the ideal of the Catholic Founders of Maryland became incorporated into the fundamental law of the land.

J. Moss Ives.

BOLÍVAR AND THE CHURCH[1]

Studies of Bolívar, with a few notable exceptions, have given comparatively slight attention to his relations with the church.[2] Yet it appears to the writer that his skillful handling of this delicate and difficult problem constitutes one of his chief claims to superior statesmanship. In no phase of his work is his realist conception of politics more apparent than in his approach to the religious problem. A philosophic liberal in religious views, schooled in the doctrines of the French rationalists, he appreciated the fact that he was chief of a Catholic people whose religiosity, if superficial perhaps, was at any rate general. Any settlement of the religious question must respect their beliefs and prejudices. He had to face, on the other hand, doctrinaire legislators, who lacked his comprehensive grasp of the problems of Hispanic-American society and who were too eager to restrict the church in the interest of intellectual expansion and secular and material progress to accept his policy of accommodation with the institution. And, in addition, he had to contend with ambitious and intransigent clergymen, who sought to retain for the church all the privileges it had enjoyed under the Spanish régime without the restraints of the civil patronage. For a time he appeared possibly somewhat more in accord with the legislators. If in later years he regarded the church more benevolently, it indicated no doubt a maturer conception of its social value for his unhappy people.

To state Bolívar's interpretation of the ecclesiastical question negatively: he realized the danger of antagonizing an institution that possessed predominant influence over the greater part of the people of Gran Colombia. But Bolívar's approach to the problem

[1] Paper read before the Hispanic-American Section of the American Historical Association Meeting, Washington, December 28, 1934.

[2] Special studies of Bolívar's religious policy have been made by Leturia, Pedro, *La acción diplomática de Bolívar ante Pío VII 1820-1823* (Madrid 1925), and by Navarro, Nicolás E., *La política religiosa del Libertador* (Caracas, 1933). Monsalve, Groot, Parra Pérez, and Villanueva give some attention to his religious ideas and policy.

was primarily positive and constructive. He sought the aid of the church for the consolidation of the republic and the reconstruction of society. He had sore need of such assistance. None of the revolutionary peoples faced such a task of social rebuilding as his own. In part through his policy of "War to the Death," the struggle for independence had brought overwhelming economic, social, and moral loss to northern South America. The people were well-nigh barbarized, especially the large number of mixed bloods whose civilization had been at best but ephemeral. Bolívar feared peace more than war, he confessed.

In his first plan of government, the Project for the Constitution of Angostura (1819), Bolívar suggested the creation of a "moral power," a sort of board of censors for the control of education and conduct.[3] At this time he was probably less willing to conciliate the church; or perhaps he feared it would not support the republic; and he declared in fact that it was too depleted by war to offer adequate moral support.[4] Although this "moral power," suggestive of the Inquisition, is out of keeping with his generally liberal views, its proposal shows his recognition of the need of an institution to safeguard the social foundations of the republic. His suggestion, it might be said, was not adopted, and Bolívar came to look to the church as a stabilizing force.[5] Hence he sought to prevent its further disintegration; indeed, to promote its reorganization and expansion. "A bishop is a useful person," he declared, and he was thinking in terms of political and social objectives rather than religious ones.[6]

[3] In the introduction to his Project, Bolívar recognized the difficulty of preparing a constitution for his people in view of the racial and social conditions: "We are not Europeans, we are not Indians, but a people half way between the aborigines and the Spanish," he declared, . . . "and our situation is thus very extraordinary and complicated." Copies of Bolívar's Project and of the Constitution of Angostura are found in Gil Fortoul, José, *Historia constitucional de Venezuela*, 2 vols., 2nd edition (Caracas, 1930), vol. ii, Appendix, pp. 507-550.

[4] Lecuna, Vicente, *Cartas del Libertador*, 10 vols. (Caracas, 1929-1930), vol. iii, p. 216.

[5] But in the Project for the Constitution of Bolivia he returned to the idea of a board of censors.

[6] Restrepo, Ernesto Tirado (editor), *Archivo Santander*, 23 vols. (Bogotá, 1914), vol. viii, p. 260.

Further, Bolívar sought the aid of the church in his efforts to establish contacts with the Papacy. His approach to Rome had a dual purpose: recognition by the Pope might encourage the European powers to recognize Gran Colombia; but the Papacy could be more useful in his internal program by aiding in the rehabilitation of the local church.

Bolívar's attitude toward the church became progressively more conservative, due primarily to social disorder and the threatened dissolution of the republic in the later eighteen-hundred twenties and hence his greater need of its assistance. His accommodation with the institution brought upon him the severe criticism of political liberals and has given rise to the thesis that he was a pronounced clerical in principle and a devout Catholic.

A word might thus be said here as to Bolívar's personal views and political theories on religion and the church. It should be recalled first that the Revolution in Hispanic-America produced no attack on the Christian religion. There was little, if any, desire on the part of its leaders or supporters to destroy the church or to replace it with another faith.[7] The Revolution was notably conservative in religion as compared to the radical phase of the French Revolution or to the Russian Revolution or to the recent attacks on the church in Mexico. Revolutionary statesmen might be anti-clerical, but they were neither anti-religious nor anti-Catholic.[8] There was no enthusiasm for any Protestant brand of Christianity. Many favored toleration of sects other than the Catholic not because of any sympathy with their beliefs, but because they hoped through such a policy to secure material aid by immigration from England and the United States.[9]

Bolívar was brought up in the Catholic faith, but he was appar-

[7] This was true in spite of the fact that the church as an institution had been a loyal defender of the Spanish monarchy.

[8] Governments in Venezuela, even those advocating a radical religious program have shown a peculiar predilection for celebrating victories with *Te Deums* and solemnizing all important civil acts with religious forms, in some cases in the face of stubborn opposition of the church.

[9] For a statement of the influence of the immigration question on religious policy in Venezuela, *vide* the writer's *History of the Church in Venezuela, 1810-1930* (Chapel Hill, 1933), pp. 109, 129.

ently rather indifferent to religion as a personal and private consideration. As to its political and constitutional position, he favored, in principle, religious freedom. His Address to the Constituent Congress of Bolivia contains a beautiful expression of this belief: "Religion is the law of the conscience. All law over it annuls it, for by imposing necessity for duty, there is destroyed the merit of faith, which is the basis of religion."[10] But his Project for the Constitution of Bolivia, presented at the time this statement was made, provided for state control of the organization and discipline of the church. Indeed, those republican leaders of Gran Colombia who were regarded as "liberal" on religion were generally, it appears exclusively even, in favor of state control instead of separation of church and state, the policy of modern religious liberals. Bolívar was no exception. But his attitude toward the institution was more generous, or shall we say more realistic only, than that of Santander, Castillo, Restrepo, and other republican leaders. Although he advocated state control, he thought of the state as the promoter and protector of the church, not merely as a superior power to hold the institution in restraint.[11] This attitude became more apparent as time went on. On the other hand, there was a curious contradictoriness, a combination of the protective and the suspicious, in Bolívar's relations with the church throughout his life. It makes his position hard to define. Indeed, his indirection in his dealings with the institution might bring upon him charges of duplicity; but it would seem fairer to attribute it to the caution, the diplomacy, the absence of dogmatism that mark him as a superior statesman. In most cases, it is explained by his doubts of the loyalty of individual churchmen, not by hostility to the institution itself.

A survey of Bolívar's relations with the church might follow these introductory statements. Such a survey should begin with relations during the Revolution. It is difficult to describe the attitude of the church to the Revolution in northern South America. On the whole, it followed an opportunist policy, changing as the

[10] Copies of Bolívar's Address and of the Constitution of Bolivia are found in Gil Fortoul, *Historia constitucional de Venezuela*, vol. ii, p. 587 *et seq.*

[11] Cf. Navarro, *La política religiosa del Libertador*, p. 33.

fortunes of the war changed. But there are important exceptions. Sectional and personal interests led priests to join the one or the other side. And the church like the political power was more than usually decentralized here, conflicts within the organization being the usual rather than the exceptional occurrence. In the Province of Mérida, to take a single example, a notable group of churchmen supported the Revolution from its beginning in part because of liberal political views; but sectional division in the church also encouraged their support.[12] Only for a short time, following the earthquake of 1812, did the institution act with any degree of unanimity until it came generally to the support of Bolívar following the success of his arms after 1819. During the war both sides tried to capitalize its influence. For instance, in 1814, Bolívar sent the Archbishop of Caracas, Coll y Prat, and a considerable group of ecclesiastics to win over Valencia, the center of royalist sentiment. But the fortunes of the war changed and the undertaking fell through.[13] Later he used the Bishops of Mérida and Popayán to much better effect in putting down local resistance to the republic in their reactionary dioceses. When rumors of a threatened French attack were spread in 1825, Bolívar wrote Santander: "Do not forget to declare a crusade on the French atheists. . . . The Bishop of Mérida and all other fanatics will be able to help in that case in the churches, in the pulpits, and in the streets." [14]

On the other hand, Bolívar did not hesitate to use extreme measures against royalist clergymen. After the earthquake of 1812, which the church pronounced an act of divine disfavor toward revolution and used to stir up reaction, he was moved to severe pronouncements and reprisals against the clergy, whom he termed

[12] Silva, Antonio Ramón, *Documentos para la historia de la diócesis de Mérida* (vols. i, ii, iii, iv, vi, Mérida, 1908-1922; vol. v, Caracas, 1927), vol. iii, pp. 277-285; vol. v, pp. 28, 286. For a general survey of the action of the clergy in the Revolution, *vide* Watters, *History of the Church in Venezuela*, Chapter 1.

[13] The archbishop turned back before he reached his destination, and the priests were taken by Boves; Urdaneta, Rafael, *Memorias* (Madrid, 1916), p. 57.

[14] *Archivo Santander*, vol. xii, pp. 284-285.

the ally of despotism. His address from Cartagena (1813) attributes royalist support largely to them, especially to Spanish ecclesiastics.[15] His proclamation of "War to the Death" did not except them. According to several accounts, priests were exiled and some executed by the orders of Bolívar.[16] His government was responsible for the execution of the twenty-two Capuchin missionaries who were found in Guayana when his armies occupied the region in 1817; although Bolívar's personal responsibility for this act is seriously questioned, if not indeed disproved.[17]

The winning of the two remaining bishops, the Bishops of Mérida and Popayán, to the support of the republic is a notable achievement of Bolívar's diplomacy with the church. According to Torrente, the Spanish historian of the Revolution, only ten of the thirty-eight bishoprics in the revolting colonies in America were occupied in 1826.[18] Three of the ten incumbents were incapacitated, and two emigrated in that same year, leaving only five in active service. Colombia was fortunate to have two of these, won over in spite of monarchist loyalties. The Bishop of Mérida, Lasso de la Vega, had been an enthusiastic supporter of the Spanish rule even to the point of leading royalist forces in battle; he was the inspiration of the reactionary movement in Coro and

[15] Blanco, José Félix and Ramón Azpurúa (editors), *Documentos para la historia de la vida pública del Libertador de Colombia*, 14 vols. (Caracas, 1875-1877), vol. iv, p. 122.

[16] Díaz, José Domingo, *Recuerdos sobre la rebelión de Caracas* (London, 1819), p. 41; Heredia, J. F., *Memorias sobre las revoluciones de Venezuela* (Paris, 1885), p. 72.

[17] Baralt placed the responsibility on Bolívar, who, he declared, asked when told that the friars had been captured why they had not been shot; Baralt, R. M. and Ramón Díaz, *Resumen de la historia de Venezuela desde 1797 hasta 1830* (Paris, 1841), 2 vols., vol. ii, p. 386. Larrazábal pronounced this account of Baralt an excellent Thomas of Canterbury story but not good history. He and O'Leary attributed the execution to an error on the part of the officer sent to remove the friars to Divina Pastora. Ignorant of the local geographical designations, he inferred he was to kill them; Larrazábal, Felipe, *Vida del Libertador, Simón Bolívar*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1918), vol. ii, pp. 76-77; O'Leary, Simón (editor), *Memorias del General O'Leary*, 32 vols. (Caracas, 1879-1888), vol. i, p. 376.

[18] Torente, Mariano, *Historia de la revolución hispano-americano*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1829), vol. i, pp. 46-48.

Maracaibo. Salvador Jiménez, Bishop of Popayán, was the only Spanish bishop in the colonies who did not emigrate; a cleric, moreover, whose edicts and excommunications against the revolution had already become a legend. His diocese, which included Pasto, aptly called by Mitre "La Vendée" of America, was the most reactionary district of Gran Colombia.

Bolívar sought not only to win the support of the clergy who remained, but to build up through their aid the personnel of the church. This had been sadly depleted by the war. Chapters lacked the official canons required by law for the transaction of business in the vacant sees. The Diocese of Guayana, for example, had no canons, and the bishop-elect departed with the royalist armies in 1817. In 1822 there was only one priest remaining in this extensive province, according to the report of Vergara, Secretary of the Interior.[19] Bolívar was disturbed especially by the almost total lack of priests in the llanos of the Apure, where they were needed to prevent a complete social retrogression among the unruly llaneros.[20] Although other regions did not suffer so serious a lack of churchmen as Guayana, the losses from death, exile, and emigration, were everywhere embarrassing to the church and disturbing to society.[21] In a letter to Pius VII on March 19, 1823, Lasso de la Vega declared that vacancies were general both in the offices of the higher clergy and in the curacies; that churches often passed to transient priests, who occupied them without the approval of bishop or chapter; that all semblance of discipline in the church had disappeared; and that no contact existed between the archbishopries and outlying regions such as Guayana and Mainas.[22] In his letter to the Bishop of Popayán, in which he urged him to remain in Colombia and support the republic, Bolívar stressed the serious conditions in the church: "You know that the people of

[19] *El ministro de relaciones exteriores de Colombia en 1826*, reprinted in pamphlet (Caracas, 1851).

[20] O'Leary, *Memorias*, vol. xxv, p. 231.

[21] A number of priests were exiled by royalist leaders for support, or suspected support, of the revolution. According to Groot, Morillo deported eighty-six from La Guaira on one occasion; quoted in Blanco-Azpurúa, *Documentos*, vol. iii, p. 306.

[22] Silva, *Documentos*, vol. vi, pp. 59-69.

Colombia need priests and that the war has deprived them of divine aid because of the scarcity of priests. The responsibility of a possible disintegration of the church in America falls squarely upon those who could maintain the unity of the Catholic church." [23]

The status of the church had not become an issue in the Revolution so that it could still look for favorable treatment at the hands of the republic. In consequence of his fear of arousing the people as well as his desire to make use of the church, Bolívar advocated further postponement of a definition of its position. Through his advice the Constitutions of Angostura and Cúcuta made no provision on religion. Bolívar explained his policy later to a friend: "Knowing that the toleration of no religion except the Catholic would be admitted, I took care that nothing be said upon religion when the Constitution of Colombia was established . . . so that since there is no clause that prescribes the form of worship, foreigners may worship God as they please. The people of Colombia are not yet prepared for any change in religion. The priests have great influence with the ignorant people. Religious liberty should follow free institutions and a system of general education." [24] Thus, although an exclusive church had not been recognized, it had not been denied by a grant of freedom of worship; the privileges of the clergy were not attacked; nor the civil patronage asserted. The church might hope for a more favored position than it had enjoyed under the Spanish régime. It might be mentioned also that the Constitution of Cúcuta did recognize the Catholic faith as the religion of the people in the prologue, but this was regarded as a statement of fact only with no legal significance.[25]

But the Congresses of Cúcuta and Bogotá, too impatient to follow

[23] Lecuna, *Cartas del Libertador*, vol. iii, p. 17.

[24] Quoted in Gil Fortoul, *Historia constitucional*, vol. ii, p. 436. The Bishop of Mérida, a member of the Congress of Cúcuta, was responsible for the adoption of Bolívar's policy of making no provision for an establishment of religion. But by opposing a religion of "state," he hoped to bring about the abolition of state control over the church, not to establish freedom of worship; *vide* Watters, *History of the Church in Venezuela*, p. 83 *et seq.*

[25] After he realized his failure to free the church from state control, the bishop urged that the allocation to the Constitution be made a part of the first volume of laws, but his petition was rejected.

the cautious policy of Bolívar, proceeded to define the position of the church and to consolidate state control over it. The Inquisition was abolished; the jurisdiction of church courts restricted and foreigners exempted from their jurisdiction; all matters of external discipline of the church and of censorship declared prerogatives of the state; the smaller monasteries dissolved and their funds set aside for public education; a minimum age limit of twenty-five years established for entrance upon the monastic life; freedom of the press declared; a program of secular education launched; and the Spanish law of the tithe of 1771, which had established lay control, declared in force and the service of the tithe restricted in the interest of agriculture. Finally, state control of the church, the civil patronage, was proclaimed in the famous Law of the Patronage of 1824. In this law state supervision was made so effective that Venezuela, a state which has insisted upon the rigid control of the church has found no need to change the law in its essentials and very little in details from that day to this. The bishops began to doubt the security of the church under the republic and to confess their doubts to the Pope.[26] Formal protests were presented to the government against this legislation, especially against the Law of the Patronage.

In the meantime, bitter controversy had broken out in the press and the pulpit between the clergy and the anti-clericals, including the Masons.[27] Under the free press law numerous radical sheets appeared, advocating further restriction of the church in the interest of intellectual freedom, foreign immigration, and the promotion of secular and material interest. The Commission on Studies in its new program of education emphasized Jeremy Bentham's *Principles of Universal Legislation*. This feature was singled out for attack by the clericals. To offset clerical influence, the government at Bogotá, then anti-clerical in sentiment, encouraged the Masonic organization.

Bolívar, engaged in the war in the South, had no direct part in

[26] Silva, *Documentos*, vol. vi, pp. 112-116.

[27] Groot, *Historia eclesiástica y civil*, vol. v, gives a good discussion of the Masonic-clerical agitation. For an analysis of the conflict *vide* the writer's *History of the Church in Venezuela*, p. 103 *et seq.*

this conflict. He had raised no objections to the establishment of state control of the church, although he was seeking papal recognition of this control. He himself questioned the loyalty of the bishops and some other churchmen to the state. According to La Croix, at least, he considered the Bishops of Mérida and Popayán "hypocrites and not to be trusted." [28] He gave orders that the correspondence of the prelates be inspected.[29] Nevertheless, Bolívar feared that the anti-clericals were going too far in their attacks on the church. On the other hand, the forces favoring the restriction of the institution were so strong in the early eighteen-hundred twenties that he hesitated to oppose them. He feared the lawyers more than he did the priests, he confessed.[30] For a time their activity was apparently unrestrained. Bolívar finally protested to Santander, however, insisting that the attack of the Masons on the church was threatening to produce a revolt among the more devout and urging that their activity be checked.[31]

Bolívar's ecclesiastical policy became progressively more conservative. As dictator of Gran Colombia from 1828 to 1830, a primary feature of his plan for saving the state was the encouragement of religion and the church. With this policy public sentiment in Colombia, outside a certain group of political opponents of Bolívar, was in general agreement. In a series of decrees, he abolished the teaching of Bentham and substituted religious studies; he annulled the law of 1821 that provided for the extinction of the smaller monasteries and ordered their reëstablishment; he ordered schools for girls established in convents for women; he abolished the age limit of twenty-five years for entrance upon the religious life; he restored the offices of chaplains and vicars in the army; and he placed the Archbishop of Bogotá upon

[28] La Croix, L. Perú, *Diario de Bucaramanga*, edited by Cornelio Hispano (Paris, 1912), p. 177.

[29] Blanco-Azpurúa, *Documentos*, vol. xiii, pp. 731-732. Other expressions of suspicion of the loyalty of the clergy on the part of the government are found in *Archivo Santander*, vol. xiii, p. 108; *passim*; or Zubieta, Pedro A., *Apuntaciones sobre las primeras misiones diplomáticas de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1924), pp. 584-586.

[30] Lecuna, *Cartas del Libertador*, vol. ii, pp. 170-171.

[31] *Archivo Santander*, vol. xv, p. 258.

his Council of Government.[32] He recognized the Catholic church as the official religion of Colombia and urged the clergy in public pronouncement and private correspondence to oppose the tendencies toward anarchy and the dissolution of the republic.[33] His decree against secret societies checked the activity of the Masons, a chief enemy of the church.[34] In part through his protective policy, the church in Colombia regained in the later twenties the power lost in the early years of the republican period. It became a chief protagonist of the dictatorship of Bolívar.

In Venezuela, however, Bolívar's decrees met opposition. Anticlericalism was much more determined in that Department of the Colombian Union. This fact had been evident in the attitude of delegates from that division to the Congresses of Cúcuta and Bogotá. Through the press and the Masonic organization Venezuelan leaders were conducting a veritable war on religious intolerance. Páez, caudillo of Venezuela, warning Bolívar that his decrees favoring the church would not be approved in Caracas, concluded: "It is useless to make observation on this; but as there is so much difference between the exercise of the religious power in Bogotá and in Venezuela, I cannot refrain from mentioning it. We have worked much to destroy the horrors of fanaticism and the influence of the priests on the people; in Venezuela they now rarely meddle with public matters in their ministry. . . . I judge that when you tell me the government is to support religion, it will be with all the delicacy that the enlightenment of an age which prefers, in my opinion liberty of thought to civil liberty, demands."[35] Although it is difficult if not impossible to evaluate its influence, Bolívar's action favoring the church, it seems safe to say, helped to encourage the secession of Venezuela from the Union.

Some students of Bolívar take these decrees to indicate that he advocated, or had come to advocate, clericalism as a prominent and permanent policy on the basis of religious as well as political con-

[32] Blanco-Azpurúa, *Documentos*, vol. xi, pp. 693-694.
[33] Lecuna, *Cartas del Libertador*, vols. vii and viii, *passim*.
[34] Ponte, Andrés F., *Bolívar y otros ensayos* (Caracas, 1919), pp. 191-193.
[35] O'Leary, *Memorias*, vol. ii, pp. 149-150.

viction—that he was a pronounced conservative, indeed a reactionary, in religion.[36] Others insist that they were merely a last desperate effort to save the state by making appeal temporarily to a recognized conservative force—that they constitute a purely opportunist measure.[37] Neither view, the writer would hold, is correct. Bolívar, it is believed, still looked forward to the day when "free institutions and a system of general education" would make practicable the grant of religious liberty, or at least of toleration; he remained a religious liberal in theory. One finds, however, that these terms "liberal" and "conservative" are about as unsatisfactory in attempts to describe Bolívar's religious philosophy and policy as they are in efforts to analyze his political theory and practice. The Liberator defies classification. As to the immediate significance of the so-called "reactionary" decrees, I think it may be said that Bolívar had come to appreciate more fully the social value of the church for his people in their disorganized condition as well as its political usefulness and was willing to give it more generous support than he had a decade earlier. But his rapprochement with the church was not the result of a sudden change of policy. No doubt the political emergency caused him to go further in favoring it than he might otherwise have gone; but he had come gradually to depend upon it more and to discourage attacks upon it. He had advised military and political leaders in other parts of the republic to act in harmony with the church.[38] Perhaps these decrees should not be regarded as reactionary on his part, although they represent a reaction against the laws passed a few years before. As far as a positive policy for immediate application is concerned, it would seem that Bolívar never *adopted* a policy; that he simply followed the traditions of the Spanish régime—union of church and state and state protection of the church.[39]

[36] Monsalve, J. D., *El ideal político del Libertador*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1916), and Groot, *Historia eclesiástica y civil*, take this view.

[37] Gil Fortoul, *Historia constitucional*; Mancini, Jules, *Bolívar et l'emancipation de colonies espagnoles* (Paris, 1912); Parra Pérez, C., *Bolívar: contribución al estudio de sus ideas políticas* (Paris, 1928). These writers regard Bolívar as a pronounced liberal in religion.

[38] *Cartas del Libertador*, vol. iii, pp. 28-30; vol. v, p. 372.

[39] Navarro, *La política religiosa del Libertador*, p. 33.

It remains to speak of Bolívar's relations with the Papacy. His achievements in this field were not only of national, but also of continental, scope and significance.[40] The success of Gran Colombia made easier the approach of other states. And in some instances Colombian representatives acted directly for other states; for example, Tejada spoke for both Mexico and Bolivia. As to the results of the diplomacy for Gran Colombia, the following facts might be noted: the letter of Pius VII to the Bishop of Mérida in 1822 was the first direct communication of the Papacy with Spain's revolting colonies in America; the confirmation of Buenaventura Arias as an auxiliary to the Bishop of Mérida in 1824 was the first recognition of their religious needs; and the confirmation in 1827 of the six proprietary bishops for the dioceses of Gran Colombia was the first formal disregard of the Spanish patronage. Finally, in 1835, the Papacy granted political recognition first to New Granada, formerly Colombia. Colombia was indeed fortunate as compared to the other new states and in view of the difficulty of Rome's position.

For Rome's position was obviously a delicate one. As long as there was a chance of Spain's regaining her colonies, the Papacy would hesitate to disregard the royal patronage. The situation was further complicated by the program of the Holy Alliance for discountenancing illegitimacy and republicanism. On the other hand, the church in America might be lost by too long neglect of its religious needs. Bolívar played especially upon this latter contingency. As early as 1813, he sought to establish contracts with Rome through Fajardo, the agent at Paris. No practical results came from this effort, but it might be noted as the first communication the Papacy received from the revolting colonies. In 1819, efforts were renewed to reach Rome through Peñalver and Vergara, representatives in London. They were instructed to

[40] Bolívar's diplomacy in Rome has been ably discussed by Leturia, *La acción diplomática de Bolívar ante Pío VII.* Other studies are found in Cardeñas, P. I., *Anales diplomáticas de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1878); or Zubieta, *Apuntaciones sobre las primeras misiones diplomáticas de Colombia.* A survey of this phase of the Liberator's work is found in the writer's *History of the Church in Venezuela,* p. 115 *et seq.*

make special appeal for papal attention to the religious needs of Gran Colombia. Again there was no immediate result, but these representatives had succeeded in convincing Rome of the depleted, disorganized, and demoralized condition of the church which had resulted from the wars for independence. Pius VII began to realize that this "peculiar ecclesiastical problem could not be confined to the legitimist formula" sanctioned at Vienna.[41] In 1820, the government at Angostura gave Francisco Zea, minister to London, a commission to treat with the Pope similar to the instructions given to Peñalver and Vergara, but his bold demands for immediate political recognition met a merited rebuff. After some delay, Ignacio Tejada was commissioned in 1823. He remained for many years the Colombian representative at Rome; and, as Ayarragaray asserts, towered above his colleagues there as a defender of the new republics.[42] Until 1835 no other state had a permanent embassy at Rome.

In the meantime, Bolívar sought to establish contact with the Papacy through the bishops. The letter of the Bishop of Mérida, October 20, 1821, written upon Bolívar's suggestion, opened a new era in the history of the Colombian church and that of all Spanish America, Leturia declared. Only in Colombia did the episcopate undertake an apology for the republican system. Other states, Father Leturia points out, lacked a government so conciliatory or bishops so patriotic.[43] The Bishop of Mérida was extravagant in his praise of Bolívar. He made the attention to religion in Colombia in contrast to its neglect in Spain a main argument for papal recognition.[44] Even after his fears had been aroused by the action of the Colombian Congresses, he continued for some time to insist that Bolívar would protect the church. The Bishop of Popayán was even more enthusiastic in his eulogies of Bolívar, declaring that in the entire history of revolutions he was sure none had occurred in which the church had suffered less than it had in

[41] Leturia, *La acción diplomática*, p. 101.

[42] Ayarragaray, Lucas, *La iglesia en America y la dominación española* (Buenos Aires, 1920), p. 297.

[43] Leturia, *La acción diplomática*, p. 108.

[44] Silva, *Documentos*, vol. vi, pp. 18-19.

Colombia.[45] It was as a result of the petitions of the bishops, made upon Bolívar's suggestion, that the Pope consented in 1824 to the naming of Arias as auxiliary to the Bishop of Mérida. But after the passage of the Law of the Patronage, the bishops became less confident that Bolívar even could protect the church against the attacks of the anti-clericals; and their defense of the republic lost at least its enthusiasm.[46] The later achievements in Rome—the confirmation of the six proprietary bishops and the recognition of the republic—were due to the representation of Tejada.

The success of Bolívar's diplomacy in Rome as compared to that of other Spanish-American statesmen was the result of several forces, among which were the greater political stability of Colombia, his personal prestige abroad, and Tejada's ability as a diplomat. But it may in large part be attributed to the Liberator's accommodation to the Catholic sentiment of Colombia and to his agreement with the church in the approach to the Papacy. In his external ecclesiastical program as well as in his domestic policy, Bolívar gave evidence of his adherence to the philosophy of Montesquieu set forth in his *Spirit of the Laws*—a philosophy to which he had made such eloquent appeal in his Address to the Congress at Angostura.

MARY WATTERS.

[45] Leturia, "León XII y Bolívar," *Razón y Fé*, November 30, 1930, pp. 10-11.

[46] Silva, *Documentos*, vol. vi, pp. 112-116; *passim*. The fears of ultramontane sentiment in the church led the government to suspect all communications of the clergy with the Papacy; O'Leary, *Memorias*, vol. vii, p. 234; *Archivo Santander*, vol. xiii, p. 17; p. 108.

MISCELLANY

I

A NEW PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY*

Natura non facit saltum, wrote Charles Darwin in the twenty-fifth and last chapter of his renowned *Origin of Species*. It appears, however, that Hugo de Vries has shown that nature sometimes does take a leap, but not in the dark. Irrespective of what nature does, the particular sciences, either the exact or those, shall we say, less exact, do advance occasionally by leaps and bounds. These sudden and often notable advances of the sciences are usually brought about by the keen insight and comprehensive grasp of some superior mind, frequently enough that of a man of genius. After a more or less extended period of fact-finding the necessity for broader generalizations arises. Bold and ingenious hypotheses are put forward which eventually may become commonly accepted theories and perhaps even well established laws. One need but mention the heliocentric theory of Copernicus, Newton's law of universal gravitation, Laplace's *nébuleuse primitive*, Darwin's doctrine of organic evolution, Mendeleyev's periodic law, Einstein's theory of general and special relativity, and Planck's quantum theory. These flashes of creative imagination and constructive reasoning may be likened to titanic thrusts and gigantic leaps which have extended the realm of science beyond the wildest dreams of men and have dazzled the scientists themselves.

It seems that the time has arrived for the science of history to take a step forward. One may say that it is easier to discover the underlying principles of the history of this planet, the history of the plant kingdom, the history of the horse, to give but a few examples, than to relate the whole of human history to certain philosophical principles. When we interpret the facts of human history we are not confronted with a rigidly determined series of events, but with deliberately chosen and cautiously calculated free acts which vastly complicate any deductions made from them. Still it cannot be maintained that human history does not reveal certain constancies, a certain periodicity, even granting that many of the most important events must be ascribed to free agents. The very rhythms in the history of mankind render possible certain supreme generalizations and laws of history. Mr. Arnold Toynbee, Director of Studies in the Royal

* *A Study of History.* By Arnold J. Toynbee. (London and New York: Oxford University Press. 1934. Vol. I, pp. xvi, 476. Vol. II, pp. vii, 452. Vol. III, pp. vi, 555. $17.50.)

Institute of International Affairs and Research Professor of International History in the University of London, has conceived a colossal work to be completed in thirteen volumes in which he institutes comparisons between the successive civilizations that have made their appearance down to date. The first three of the projected thirteen volumes of his *Study of History* have but recently seen the light of day.

They comprise an introduction of nearly two hundred pages and a discussion of the geneses and growths of civilizations. We are informed that the sum and substance of a considerable part of the three volumes consists of lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute in Boston and at Northwestern University at Evanston, Illinois, in 1933.

After cermoniously invoking the Muses in the august language in which they were accustomed to be addressed, in Greek verse, Professor Toynbee resolutely plunges *in medias res*. His brief discussion of the relativity of historical thought must be regarded as masterful. The author contends that we have entered upon a new age in which the historian will find it necessary to widen his horizon. Before the General War of 1914-18 the single Great Powers were inclined to regard themselves as universes in themselves. Today, however, more than ever before they are brought to the realization that they are not self-sufficient but rather parts of a greater whole. Although historians cannot completely disassociate themselves from their own milieu and entirely rid their minds of the prejudices of their countries, still they will now be obliged to seek a much wider field of study than that inspired by the narrow nationalism of pre-War days. The author sets out to find such a broader field, "an intelligible field of historical study independent of the local and temporary standpoints and activities of historians." He then proceeds to make a test case of Great Britain, a national state of the West which all will recognize as a Great Power. He arrives at the conclusion that "British national history is not, never has been, and almost certainly never will be an 'intelligible field of study' in isolation." One must acknowledge that a better test case could scarcely have been selected. Consequently the history of any other national state can never be adequately presented in isolation. Thus an intelligible field must be some larger entity.

The next logical step is to find that larger entity of which Great Britain is a part. Professor Toynbee points out that the Muslims who looked upon Western Christendom from the outside, regarded it as a unity and gave it a name, "Feringhistan," which survives even today. They recognized a larger entity than a national state, rather a society composed of national states. That society exists in our day. In Europe itself that society was called Western Christendom. However, since the unity of Christendom in Europe has been disrupted, that appellation is no longer suitable, hence it seems more convenient to speak of "the West" or "the Western Society"

or "the Western World." Now this society certainly does constitute an intelligible field of study and may be called a civilization. The Western Society is but one among many related to one another as representatives of a single species of society. The author arrives at a sort of axiom which reads: "Societies, not states, are 'the social atoms' with which students of history have to deal." Thus the whole of civilized mankind must be divided into societies, or civilizations, which are quite distinct from one another. Besides our Western Society the author finds four more living societies, the Orthodox Christian, Islamic, Hindu, and Far Eastern. Looking toward the past he finds extinct societies or civilizations to which the living five are "affiliated," to use the author's terminology. He does find two wholly unrelated to earlier or later societies, namely, the Egyptiac and the Andean. Some of the extinct societies are related to subsequent societies, for instance, the Hellenic is "apparented" to the Western and to the Orthodox Christian. The author distinguishes between the Arabic and Iranic civilizations which are both the constitutive elements of the Islamic Society of today. After subdividing the Orthodox Christian Society into the main body and that of Russia, and the Far Eastern into the main body and that of Korea and Japan, and counting all the extinct societies the author finally arrives at the total of twenty-one societies or civilizations which are intelligible fields of historical study. Besides the Egyptiac and the Andean already mentioned, there are four other civilizations unrelated to any earlier ones, *viz.*, the Sinic, Minoan, Sumeric, and Mayan.

Civilizations are carefully to be distinguished from primitive societies. While there are only twenty-one civilizations, anthropologists count over 650 primitive societies each one of which is an intelligible field of study, but they constitute a separate species. The twenty-one civilizations constitute the other species of the genus, "intelligible field of historical study." Man supposedly exists on earth about 300,000 years, whereas the earliest civilizations emerged about 6,000 years ago. The author emphatically opposes what he calls the misconception of the unity of civilization. The differences between civilizations are so great as to render it impossible to reduce them to only one, although it is very probable that future investigators will reduce the twenty-one of Toynbee to less than a dozen. This possibility is foreseen by Toynbee himself (Vol. I, p. 136). Assuming, however, that there are twenty-one civilizations, he begins his comparative study of them by making an inquiry into their geneses.

Why do civilizations arise? Why did the earliest make their appearance only about 6,000 years ago? These questions make it immediately evident that the problem of the geneses of civilizations is a real one. We have at least 650 representatives of the species called primitive societies and at most twenty-one, and perhaps as few as ten, civilized societies or civiliza-

tions. From this it appears that civilizations are not very numerous when compared with primitive societies. In identifying his twenty-one civilizations Professor Toynbee employed two criteria, namely, a society's religion and the original range of its geographical habitat. These two criteria reveal various modes of emergence of these separate civilizations. First of all there is a striking difference in the emergence of those civilizations which are totally unrelated to any previous civilizations. As already mentioned the author holds that there are six of these, the Andean and Mayan in the New World, and the Egyptiac, Sumeric, Minoan and Sinic in the Old. The geneses of these civilizations present special difficulties. Civilizations totally unrelated to any earlier civilization can never appear again, if for no other reason than the fact that no part of the world has escaped the influence of the Western Civilization. Thus it may be held that the mode of emergence of the unrelated civilizations has become obsolete. Whatever new civilizations the future may bring, they will always be related in some way to a previous one. At all events there are at least two modes of emergence of civilizations, that of the unrelated and that of the related. The unrelated are obviously related to primitive societies which presumably have existed hundreds of thousands of years before the dawn of civilizations. Related civilizations owe their origin to secessions of proletariats from earlier civilizations.

Both these geneses must be regarded as transitions from a static condition to a dynamic activity. These are the two phases in the rhythm of the universe. The history of mankind may be regarded as an alternation between static conditions and periods of activity. Making use of the terminology of ancient Chinese philosophy, the author employs the word *Yin* to designate the period of rest and the word *Yang* to signify the period of activity and exertion. The rise of a civilization is the change from a Yin-state to Yang-activity. A certain momentum is needed to overcome inertia before a civilization can begin its triumphant advance. *Vis inertiae* can explain why for something like 300,000 years no civilization emerged. The question now arises what positive factor brought about the birth of the first and all subsequent civilizations.

One possible factor which Mr. Toynbee examines at length is Race. He writes that in the Western World "racial explanations of social phenomena are much in vogue." Of course this is not the result of patient scientific inquiry, but it is rather due to a feeling of racial superiority. The author contends with a show of reason that "the race-feeling engendered by the English Protestant version of our Western culture became the determining factor in the development of race-feeling in our Western Society as a whole." He declares that the Protestant attitude toward other races was inspired to a notable degree by the Old Testament. He adds: "And in matters of Race the promptings of this old-fashioned Syriac oracle are

very clear and very savage." In a footnote the author advises his readers "that he was brought up a Protestant and that he has not become a Catholic." He pointedly refers to the vast difference between the Protestant mode of conversion by extermination and the methods of the Jesuit missionaries in Canada and Paraguay. Hence it appears that the extermination of the Indians in the United States was prompted by the Bible, specifically the Old Testament. He also refers to the traffic in Negro slaves, and the custom of calling men of alien races, "natives," as external manifestations of race-feeling and conceit. Nordic man, or rather the myth of Nordic superiority has been dealt a *coup de grâce*, at least as far as serious historians are concerned. After his prolonged search the author arrives at the conclusion that the creation of civilizations cannot be regarded as the exclusive prerogative of any race, and finally that there really is no superior race. He points out that the fallacy of race superiority had been clearly exposed by Plato (*Respublica*, 414B-415D).

Race, therefore, is not a positive factor. Is environment? Professor Toynbee writes: "The Environment-theory of the geneses of civilizations has none of the moral repulsiveness of the Race-theory, yet intellectually it is no less vulnerable" (Vol. I, p. 253). Hence it is clear that environment is not the positive factor sought by the author. Perhaps it is some combination of the two factors which has awakened a part of mankind from its lengthy period of somnolence. The author discovers that "the cause of the geneses of civilizations is not simple but multiple; it is not an entity but a relation." It appears to be a species of interaction. Professor Toynbee turns to mythology in the hope of some help in the solution of the problem of the origin of civilizations. Mythology does present a striking series of challenges and responses which effect the transition from a *Yin*-state to a *Yang*-activity. The author holds that wherever a civilization arose there was always some sort of challenge, which may be physical, or human; and then a response to the challenge. After an extended survey of the challenges and responses resulting in the birth of six civilizations unrelated to any earlier ones, the author seeks to establish some provisional conclusions.

In discussing the range of Challenge-and-Response he observes in the very beginning that the view that civilizations are apt to arise in environments which offer easy conditions of life is fallacious. Rather the contrary is the case; civilizations arise there where difficulties must be met and barriers surmounted. In support of his position the author cites as examples the huge exertions necessary to begin civilization in Egypt and Shinar, in Central America, Ceylon, the North Arabian Desert, and Easter Island. The Challenge to which the Polynesians responded was that of the formidable sea, the vast expanses of which separated one island from another. It is true that all challenges are not the same, but every one is

some sort of stimulus to activity. The author gives numerous illustrations of what he calls the stimulus of hard countries. He compares the land of the Yellow River with that of the Yangtse, Attica with Boetia, Brandenburg with the Rhineland, and he finds the inhabitants of the first mentioned more vigorous and energetic owing to the demands placed upon them by their countries. Another powerful stimulus is that of new ground exemplified particularly by the successes of migrations overseas. Still another is named the stimulus of blows, which usually are crushing military defeats. Still another is the stimulus of pressures. A pressure differs from a blow inasmuch as it is continuous and lasts a long time. Numerous convincing illustrations of the victorious reaction to a constant threat of invasion or penetration by an alien people are given by the author. When a stimulus takes the form of a social penalization, it likewise produces a reaction, for instance, slavery, caste, religious discrimination. Mr. Toynbee shows in what remarkable ways the Jews have responded to the severe penalizations to which they have been subjected by the Gentiles.

Professor Toynbee finds that in order that a challenge, taking on the form of the various stimuli enumerated above, may be effective, it must be neither excessive nor deficient, or too feeble. It is only the Golden Mean which produces successful civilizations. To illustrate what he means the author gives some comparisons in three terms. He contends that the Scandinavian Civilization attained its highest degree of development in Iceland. In Norway, Sweden, and Denmark the challenge was too weak, in Greenland excessive, but just the Golden Mean was found in Iceland. Another example is taken from the history of our own country. In Dixie the climatic stimulus is insufficient, in Massachusetts it is the optimum, in Maine it is accentuated "to a degree at which it brings diminishing returns of human response to its Challenge" (Vol. II, p. 295). Excessive challenges in one form or another result in what are called abortive civilizations, such as the Far Western Christian Civilization whose nucleus was in Ireland, and the Scandinavian Civilization, both of which succumbed to the excessive challenge of Roman Christendom which engulfed them.

The third volume of Professor Toynbee's work is exclusively devoted to the problem of growths of civilizations. There can be no reasonable doubt that the birth of civilizations is a real and serious problem, but the growth of civilizations may not appear to be a problem at all. If all civilizations developed in a regular fashion perhaps there would be no problem. According to the author history presents only twenty-one developed civilizations, but besides these also four abortive civilizations. There is still another class, however, namely, the arrested civilizations. If there were not any civilizations whose growth had been arrested after birth, the problem of growth would not exist. Of several arrested civilizations, that of the Polynesians, Esquimaux, and the Nomads came into existence in re-

sponse to physical challenges, whereas that of the 'Osmanlis in the Orthodox Christian World, and of the Spartans in the Hellenic World were brought forth in response to human challenges. Mr. Toynbee writes:

> All these arrested civilizations alike have been immobilized in consequence of having attempted, and achieved, a *tour de force*. . . . They are responses to challenges of an order of severity on the very borderline between a degree that still affords some stimulus and a degree that brings into operation the law of diminishing returns (Vol. III, p. 2).

From this we see that genesis is not always followed by growth. It seems that the evocation of the greatest immediate response to a challenge does signify the optimum challenge which develops a momentum which goes beyond a single achievement to further struggle and progress. Thus a certain *élan* is required for the growth of civilizations, to use Bergson's famous word, an *élan* working through a series of overbalances. Without this there may occur a cessation of movement, hence an arrested civilization.

How can one distinguish a growing civilization from one whose growth has been arrested? There must be some criterion, some indication of growth. A civilization may grow in stature, so to speak, that is, in geographical extension by the conquest of its human environment, but there may also be growth in wisdom, that is, growth in a deeper sense. Geographical expansion may be but the symptom of social disintegration, whereas progress in technique is no indication that a civilization is still growing and not dying. It appears that the phenomenon of "etherialization," a process which involves a transfer of energy, or shift of emphasis, from some lower sphere of being or sphere of action to a higher sphere, is at least a concomitant of growth (Vol. III, p. 183). Etherialization may manifest itself not only in the domain of the applied sciences, but also in the domains of Theology and Mathematics and Art and Philosophy. The final criterion of growth, however, is progress towards self-determination, rather than progress in meeting challenges from without. A distinct sign of a growing civilization is that it is its own environment, its own challenger, and its own field of action.

After having at last found the criterion of growth, Mr. Toynbee engages in an analysis of the process of growth. He finds that the growths of civilizations are to be ascribed to creative individuals or creative minorities who overcome the inertia of the majority. This is due to what the author calls the movement of Withdrawal-and-Return. A period of contemplation and silent preparation is succeeded by a return to active life in order to meet some crisis or challenge confronting the society to which a creative individual, often a genius, or a creative minority may belong. He proceeds to examine in detail some of the most typical cases of Withdrawal-and-Return of creative individuals, frequently surrounded by creative minori-

ties, such as: Saint Paul, Saint Benedict, Saint Ignatius Loyola, The Buddha, Caesar, Muhammad, Peter the Great, Lenin, Ibn Khaldun, Dante, Kant and others.

The final problem with which the author is concerned is that of the differentiation of civilizations. Obviously they are not all the same. What makes them different? It seems that differentiation is the cumulative effect of longer or shorter series of recurrent Challenge-and-Response-and-Challenge through which the growths of societies are achieved. However, "the variety that is manifested in Human Nature and in human life and institutions is a superficial phenomenon which masks, without impairing, an underlying unity" (Vol. III, p. 390).

One must mention that Professor Toynbee has supplied his three volumes with several annexes which greatly aid in clarifying his arguments. To the third volume is also appended a detailed index which makes it much easier to consult all three. It could not be maintained that Mr. Toynbee is a brilliant writer; he is prolix and verbose at times, and one may find it necessary to strengthen one's determination to wade through his work. He aptly quotes poets and philosophers in support of his views, but one must observe that he is only an amateur expounder of Sacred Scripture. Some incidents from the life of Christ which he denominates mythological will scarcely be regarded in the same light by believers. Professor Toynbee's work is characterized by an air of detachment and an objectivity that is almost startling. His analysis of the various cultures is sincere, *sans parti pris*. His work betrays no gloomy melancholy, no morbidity; he is not a prophet of evil foretelling the inevitable doom of any society. There is something virile and refreshing about his work; it exhibits scholarliness and painstaking thoroughness.

It cannot be said that with Augustine he sees the diffusion of the mild light of Christianity and the conquests of the City of God. However, that might be regarded simply as a further explanation, a deeper and more penetrating glance into the mysterious ways of divine providence. Professor Toynbee's results nowise militate against the assumption of the importance of the rôle of the City of God in history. One would be rash to deny that "Democracy" and "Industrialism" are the two master-institutions of the Western World, as Mr. Toynbee says. They attract more attention than other marks of Western Civilization. The West sends *commis voyageurs* but also missionaries to all parts of the world. The ideals of both are not identical. Hence the West perplexes the East. The future will reveal what is the most vital element in Western Civilization. It is a creation of Christianity. Fortunately for itself it has not entirely rejected the sublime teaching of Christ. There are still some in the West who profess the doctrine of brotherly love, who appreciate the value of sacrifice and devotion to the single commonwealths and to all humanity.

It can scarcely be gainsaid that no doctrine, no religion, furnishes loftier motives for subordination to law and submission to authority than Christianity. That means order and stability which makes civilizations possible.

The future will probably introduce some modifications and refinements into the teaching of Professor Toynbee, but it will very probably place him in the first rank of thinkers who have definitively formulated the "Laws of Civilizations." Mr. Toynbee has given history a new orientation. His writings will provide a powerful impetus to seek the deeper meaning of history, the goal of civilizations, and the destiny of Mankind.

J. J. ROLBIECKI.

II

NOTES ON THE BIOGRAPHY OF PAUL DE SAINT PIERRE

The Rev. John Rothensteiner published the first detailed biographical account of this pioneer missionary in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW (V, 1919-1920, 195-222) endeavoring to give "a local habitation and a name" to this Carmelite friar who had been flitting across the pages of American Church histories. We shall endeavor to correct some of the mistakes made by the noted historian and to give more precise data about his coming to this country.

Father Farmer wrote on October 9, 1784, regarding this missionary, that "when he arrived during the war, he immediately by letter signified to me his desire to be a missionary in these parts. He designed to fix himself at the Illinois." In the same letter Father Farmer states that this missionary was already known to the Prefect Apostolic John Carroll. On February 27, 1785, the Prefect Apostolic reported about this missionary to Cardinal Antonelli that he was "German by birth, came last from France, professes to belong to the Carmelite Order, was furnished with no sufficient testimonials from his lawful superior" and that he went lately to the Mississippi territory.

Father Paul de Saint Pierre first came to the United States in 1780 as chaplain in the French auxiliary army of Rochambeau. He himself writes under date of February 18, 1787, that he "was well off in France, and by order of the French King traveled to the Thirteen Colonies, where he acted in the capacity of camp chaplain of the French army." He frequently reverts in his letters to his former activity as field chaplain in Rochambeau's army during the Revolutionary War.

However, the name of Paul de Saint Pierre is not found in the list of the French army and navy chaplains of the Revolutionary War. "We

entertain a surmise in this regard which we would be glad to see confirmed," writes Father Rothensteiner. "We may surmise that de Saint Pierre was the chaplain of the German regiment de Deux-Ponts, or Zweibruecken, a conclusion that could find further confirmation in the circumstance that the village of Heiligenstein is in the immediate neighborhood of the town of Zweibruecken. These are but surmises."[1] The surmise of the noted historian is fully substantiated by the publication of a diary which Father Rothensteiner had overlooked. In 1901, F. P. Kenkel, now Director of the Central-Bureau in St. Louis, Mo., published the *Tagebuch* (Diary) of Christian Boerstler[2] who had made the voyage to America on the same ship Father Paul de Saint Pierre had boarded in 1784.

Boerstler was a schoolmaster in a village located in the immediate neighborhood of the town of Zweibruecken and left his home on May 24, 1784, with wife and six children to take a group of emigrants from that district to the United States. They went down to Holland and took ship at Rotterdam. On June 26, 1784, they sailed from Rotterdam and stopped on July 11 at Helvoetsluis, a seaport in South Holland. Boerstler entered in his diary on this day the following statement: "We have on board our ship a Catholic clergyman called Zignatz [perhaps to be read "Rignatz"], a native of Wuerzburg. He was camp chaplain of the Zweibruecken Regiment in America and is returning now at his own expense."[3] It is not clear whether this priest took ship at Helvoetsluis, since his name is mentioned only the first time under that date. Apparently he had boarded the ship already at Rotterdam, and Boerstler makes mention of him only then, because the Catholic priest began on that day to have religious services for his Protestant compatriots. Following the above notice the diarist says: "Today (July 11) he will have prayer-meeting from my prayer-book."

This former chaplain of the Zweibruecken Regiment mentioned by Boerstler is identical with the Carmelite friar mentioned by Carroll. Accordingly Paul de Saint Pierre was the Carmelite's name in religion and Zignatz or Rignatz his family name. If this missionary had labored in the East of the United States, he would have become known to historians under his family name like the two Capuchin Fathers Helbron.

The testimony of Boerstler disposes also of the surmises of Father Rothensteiner regarding the birthplace of our missionary. Father Paul

[1] *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, V, 198-199.

[2] "Tagebuch von Christian Boerstler auf der Reise nach Baltimore in Amerika," in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblaetter*, I (Chicago, 1901), 50-57, 85-86.

[3] "Tagebuch," I, 52-53. The highly flourished initial letter may be read as Z or R.

de Saint Pierre was not born at the village of Heiligenstein in the immediate neighborhood of the town of Zweibruecken for the simple reason that there never was such a village extant in that district. Boerstler tells us that the missionary was *ein geborener Wuerzburger*. He was born at Dettelbach in Franconia, on June 21, 1746, made profession July 22, 1767, ordained priest in 1769. Up to 1803 Dettelbach belonged to the *Hochstift* Wuerzburg and, therefore, he was a native of the Principality of Wuerzburg. This explicit statement disposes also of Father Rothensteiner's contention that he entered the Order of Discalced Carmelites in France. Father Paul de Saint Pierre evidently entered that Order in his native city, where a famous monastery of Discalced Carmelite friars has been flourishing to this day for well-nigh three centuries. His name is recorded in the *Catalogus* of the Cologne Discalced Carmelite Province to which the Wuerzburg monastery belonged. If Father Paul de St. Pierre had been born in the neighborhood of Zweibruecken, he surely would have entered the Order of Discalced Carmelites in France, since that district formed part of the Diocese of Metz in the eighteenth century.

We are well informed about the movements of the Zweibruecken Regiment and can follow its army chaplain to the various scenes of activity in this country during the Revolutionary War. Count William de Deux-Ponts, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Zweibruecken Regiment, in his book: *My Campaigns in America: a Journal* (Boston, 1868) and Claude Blanchard in his *Journal* (Albany, 1876) have left us most precious details. The Zweibruecken Regiment left winter quarters in Landernau, France, in March, 1780, embarked on five different ships at Brest on April 4, 1780, and set sail only on May 2, landing at Newport, Rhode Island, on July 11, 1780. During the three days, July 13 to 15, the land troops disembarked going into camp outside the city.

There was much sickness among the soldiers on board the ships. On their arrival in America the Zweibruecken Regiment counted 300 sick soldiers. "It appears," writes one observer, "that the Germans feel the heat more and are more subject to the scurvy than the French."

Father Paul de St. Pierre was naturally kept busy tending to the sick soldiers, yet found time to write to Father Farmer from Newport to acquaint him of his desire to act as missionary in the Illinois district. The French officers began the study of English upon their arrival in America and the German chaplain of the Zweibruecken Regiment did the same; this is the more reasonable to assume, since we later find Father Paul de Saint Pierre studying Spanish during the time of his prolonged captivity.

By November 2, 1780, most of the soldiers had left the hospitals and the Zweibruecken Regiment like other regiments left the camp and took up quarters in the city where they were lodged with the American citizens

in their homes. On February 28, 1781, the number of officers and men of all arms of the Zweibruecken Regiment present amounted to 912, besides 21 sick in the Newport hospitals.

The French auxiliary army had been encamped at Newport, R. I., for eleven months, when it received its marching orders from Rochambeau on June 9, 1781. The next day the Regiment with 926 effective men moved out. Among these soldiers who then marched to victory over the arms of England, we find their chaplain, Father Paul de Saint Pierre. The French reached Hartford, Conn., on June 22, Newtown on June 30, and on July 6 formed a junction with the American army twelve miles north of New York. The combined armies remained in the vicinity of Phillipsburg, in Westchester County, N. Y., till August 19, engaged in military movements towards the British positions on York Island. Yet the enterprise on New York had to be abandoned for lack of naval force. On August 19 the front was changed and on August 23 the Hudson was crossed. The French troops followed the river route making demonstrations at Newark, Brunswick, and Perth Amboy. The march was resumed on August 27 and passing through Pompton, N. Y., and Whippany, N. Y., the troops reached Princeton on September 1, Trenton on September 2, where they forded the Delaware, and Philadelphia on September 3. The following day they went into camp south of Chester and reached Baltimore on September 10, Fredericksburg on September 12 and Williamsburg, Va., on September 14. The entire distance marched by the French troops from Providence, R. I., to Williamsburg was 536 miles on land and 208 miles on water. On September 28 the whole army marched the distance of 12 miles from Williamsburg to Yorktown. In the attack on Yorktown the Zweibruecken Regiment suffered some casualties (21 killed and wounded). The bravery of the Zweibruecken Regiment was highly extolled by General Washington.

Yorktown surrendered on October 19, 1781. Thirteen days later, November 1st, the French troops went into winter quarters at Newport, Va., where General Rochambeau established his headquarters; a contingent, however, remained at Yorktown. In June, 1782, after being in winter-quarters for eight months, the French troops set out for the North. On June 23, the first division began its march. Baltimore was the point of reunion for all the troops. On July 18 they came to Dumfries, and stopped at Alexandria, Va., on the twentieth. Mrs. Martha Washington invited some of the French officers to dinner at Mount Vernon. The gossiping Louis Baron von Closen, an officer of the Zweibruecken Regiment, left a detailed account of the reception accorded to them; he remained two nights at Mount Vernon and took leave very unwillingly. On July 27 the French troops arrived at Baltimore, on September 3 they came to Philadelphia, where they remained two days; from September 24 to October 22 they

were encamped at Crompond, about nine miles from Peekskill, N. Y., on October 29 they stopped at Hartford, Conn., and on December 3, 4 and 5 they finally arrived at Boston, Mass., to embark on the ships which were to carry them to a new destination. On December 24, 1782, the squadron carrying the French auxiliary army set sail and left the harbor of Boston.

Father Paul de Saint Pierre had a good opportunity to become acquainted with America on his travels which going and coming aggregated more than 1,600 miles by land and water. Twice he remained two days in Philadelphia with his regiment and had the opportunity to become acquainted with Father Farmer and the other priests there. He had an opportunity to become acquainted with the Maryland clergy during the prolonged halt of his regiment at Baltimore from July 27 to August 20, 1782. He had served in America two and a half years and left the country with the intention to return.

Yet Father Paul de Saint Pierre had to suffer great hardships, before he could come back to the country he had served so well. The French auxiliary army was conveyed from Boston to the West Indies. On January 17, 1783, the ships neared Puerto Rico and continued to cruise in those waters for ten days before the men learnt that they were to put into the port of Porto Cabello in Venezuela. Yet in order to reach that port, the ships were compelled to cruise for a long time between Curaçoa and Venezuela on account of danger, although the distance was no more than thirty miles. On February 8, 1783, several of these French ships were obliged to put into port at Curaçoa and on the tenth they arrived at Porto Cabello.

Hostilities between the British and French forces did not cease in those seas until after March 3, 1783, and certainty of peace reached the French forces only as late as March 24, 1783. Several of the French officers went from Porto Cabello to the capital, Caracas, or made excursions into the country. It was on one of his excursions into the country that the colonel of the Zweibruecken Regiment was captured by Nelson but soon after was released. The chaplain of the Zweibruecken Regiment and a large contingent of its men fared worse. Boerstler made on September 8, 1784, the following entry in his diary: "Yesterday we came across a Spanish merchant-ship which hails from the Island of Cuba and is under way for the last forty days. She was windbound for the last eighteen days. Our captain launched a boat and exchanged a barrel of water and whiskey for some sugar and wine. The merchant, the captain and the mate came along to our ship. Our clergyman crossed over to theirs twice; he acted as interpreter because he speaks a little Spanish. He and the merchant recognized each other. They were together two years ago on the Island of Jamaica where they were kept as prisoners and where the merchant lost a whole ship-loading and every-

thing by the hands of the English. The latter is now on his way home with a loaded ship. What a joy was it for him to meet here our clergyman." [4]

The capture of the French force must have taken place shortly after February 8, 1783, when the French warships were separated from a convoy. In Jamaica Father Paul de Saint Pierre found a great number of fellow-prisoners who had been captured by the British the previous year in consequence of the defeat of the French Admiral de Grasse on April 19, 1782. There he found the Irish Capuchin Charles Whelan, the future pastor of New York, and the Irish secular priest Abbé Dowd. In July, 1783, the Zweibruecken Regiment was back in France and their chaplain was honorably discharged.

Father Paul de Saint Pierre returned to the United States as missionary, as he informs us on February 18, 1787, because "after the war the French Minister resident at Philadelphia insisted so much that I come hither that I was not able to refuse what he asked." [5] Father Rothensteiner errs in stating that he was discharged in America and remained in the country.[6] None of the former French war-chaplains was allowed to remain and Father Paul himself says plainly that he had left but returned upon the request of the French Minister.

Boerstler gives us some precious bits of information about the former chaplain of the Zweibruecken Regiment. He writes in his diary on July 11, 1784, when he mentions his name for the first time: "Today he will have prayer-meeting from my prayer-book. . . . Now our clergyman has delivered a pretty nice sermon. He has already joined in marriage two couples." [7] These couples were Calvinists. One of the girls, married on this day (or before), gave birth on July 24 to a boy who died on August 31 and was buried at sea. Apparently Father Paul baptized this child and buried him with a number of other German emigrants during the voyage. Boerstler does not make note of it.

On July 18 Boerstler mentions again prayer-meeting held by the priest with his Protestant compatriots.[8] Although no further entries are made on this subject except on July 25 by Boerstler, Father Paul de Saint Pierre had services consisting of prayer and sermons evidently every Sunday during the whole voyage. On July 19, the wind blowing from the eastern direction, the ship finally set sail and left Helvoetsluis. On September 8 Boerstler makes the following entry: "Our clergyman is after all a clever, good man and very affable, no bigot, nay, he is too intelligent for that; nor is he a dandy; he hates such manners. He preaches and sings with us from our books, has prayer-meeting from our

[4] *Loc. cit.*, 56.
[5] *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, V, 198.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Loc. cit.*, 53.
[8] *Loc. cit.*, 53.

books whenever we ask him to do so. He does not need days to prepare a sermon; this could not be done here; he is always ready when we ask him to preach. He does not believe in foolish things, yet he shows great respect for his Religion. He does not go to America to earn his bread, for he possesses 200 Louis d'or (about $800) and takes with him a full supply of church goods. It gives him pleasure. He likes also to read medical books, he carries with him Tiso's Manual [9] and wishes to have also others." [10]

On September 13 the last ration of bread was distributed when they were windbound about 60 miles off the coast. Two days later land was sighted and they passed five French war-ships which were heading for the sea; the rudder was broken, the victuals either used up to a small remainder or spoiled, and from ten to fifteen people were taken sick within the last few days. It took the ship a whole week to go up Chesapeake Bay and to cast anchor in the roadstead at Baltimore (September 22). On September 30, 1784, Boerstler disembarked with wife and children.[11]

Father Paul de Saint Pierre went ashore at Baltimore between the 22nd and 30th of September, 1784. Since he did not know about the latest developments of the affairs of the American church, he immediately set out for Philadelphia there to meet the French Minister and Father Farmer. On October 9, 1784, Father Farmer wrote the letter of recommendation and sent the priest back to Maryland to see the newly appointed Prefect Apostolic. Father John Carroll, however, could not grant him faculties and thereupon Father Paul de Saint Pierre went west to the Illinois district.

Father Gibault informs us on June 6, 1786, that Father Paul de Saint Pierre was in possession of a "certificate from the colonel of the regiment in which he served as chaplain until peace was made." [12] Unlike most other regiments the Zweibruecken Regiment was commanded only by a colonel and not a general. The colonel in question was Christian de Deux-Ponts, Count de Forbach. He was born at Zweibruecken on October 20, 1752, as son of Duke Christian of Zweibruecken and a woman without rank who was later raised to the rank of Countess of Forbach. Duke Christian, a faithful ally of the French king, resided during the winter months at Paris. He died in 1775. His wife, the Countess of Forbach, and the mother of Colonel Christian, became a great friend of Benjamin Franklin at Paris. On June 13, 1782, Benjamin Franklin wrote from Passy, France, to Mrs. Mary Hewson: "We have here a female

[9] Tissot, Simon Andre, noted medical writer in French whose works were issued in German translation in 1784.

[10] *Loc. cit.*, 56.

[11] *Loc. cit.*, 56-57.

[12] *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, V, 200.

writer on Education. . . . I enclose another piece on the same Subject, written by another Comtesse, Madame de Forbach, who does me the honor of calling me her Friend, by which Means I have a Copy, it not being published. When you have Leisure, I shall like to see your Remarks." [13] In his will Benjamin Franklin bequeathed to Washington a crabtree walking stick adorned with a golden knob curiously formed in the shape of a red cap which was a present from the Countess of Forbach. Among Franklin's private papers are preserved the visiting cards of the sons of the Countess of Forbach, the two Princes des Deux-Ponts, who were among the regular callers at his residence at Paris.[14] These princes became later the friends of Thomas Jefferson at Paris; it was in Jefferson's residence in Paris that John Trumbull painted the portrait of the younger prince, the hero of Yorktown, which is to be seen in his famous picture, "Surrender of Cornwallis," in the rotunda of the Capitol in Washington, D. C.

JOHN M. LENHART.

[13] *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, VIII (New York, 1907), 456.
[14] *Ibid.*, X, 406.

BOOK REVIEWS

Recollections of Seventy Years. By His Eminence, William Cardinal O'Connell. (Cambridge: The Riverside Press. 1934. Pp. ix, 395, $3.50.)

This autobiography of one of the most prominent figures in the life of the Church on the American continent furnishes the historian with an authentic record of the construction which its author, William Cardinal O'Connell, puts on some of the principal events of his long lifetime. His Eminence states in his preface—which reviewers must read, despite the Cardinal's universal negative, "No one ever reads a preface"—that these *Recollections* were written for the express purpose of providing posterity with an accurate account of his career and preserving for future generations the record of events through which he lived and in which, in many cases, he played an active and important rôle. No doubt, historians will be duly grateful for the information His Eminence has given them, although they will probably be disappointed that the Cardinal refrained from gratifying their curiosity about many incidents upon which he judged it more prudent to be silent.

In spite of the fact that these memoirs constitute a first-hand historical document, the book is no mere dry and dull record of facts. On the contrary, it is a lively account of a busy life written with vigour and clarity. The style is dignified throughout, simple, yet forceful, and at times truly eloquent. In expressing his views on the tyranny of industrialism, the oppression of the Irish race, the abuse of power and the neglect of duty, Cardinal O'Connell wields a powerful pen. Yet he is able to narrate with a charming simplicity, which in a less exalted person might almost be called ingenuous, the details of his boyhood, his successes in school, his youthful friendships, the dreams and visions which filled his young mind, his enthusiasm for the cause of the Church, his musical and artistic tastes, his acquaintance with the aristocracy of Rome, his diplomatic ingenuity, his gratification at the repeated approval of the Holy Father, and a hundred other incidents, episodes, personal opinions, traits of character, associations, weighty matters of broad importance or interesting trivialities which come to mind inevitably, no doubt when one reflects on a long life of seventy years and more. These *Recollections* will give to future historians not only a record of His Eminence's estimate of many persons and events but—*le style c'est l'homme*—a portrait of the mind and heart, the soul and character of the Cardinal Archbishop of Boston.

The story runs on through the boyhood years of the Cardinal's life, through his youth and early manhood spent in school, college and uni-

versity, to the day of his ordination to the priesthood when the promise of that brilliant career as bishop, archbishop, Papal Legate and Cardinal is already discernible. As the Cardinal unfolds his own life story, the reader is given an intimate view of his thoroughly Catholic home-life and the high-minded realization of responsibility which the Irish Catholic fathers and mothers of that generation brought with them from beyond the seas. Life in the industrialized New England of those days with the drab puritanism which characterized the outlook of its "leading citizens," was harsh and dreary. But for the faith, it would have been almost hopeless for the majority of the workers in those mills and factories that enriched the few by enslaving the many. Cardinal O'Connell does not mince his language in denouncing the iniquity of that system. He also makes some sound reflections on the philosophy upon which the industrial system rests, a philosophy which has by no means disappeared from economic life to-day.

The years of his youth were spent in St. Charles College in Maryland, and Boston College, the former a typical "petit séminare," the latter a typical American institution, both whole-heartedly devoted to the Catholic training of the young people committed to their care.

Cardinal O'Connell's recollections of those days stir happy memories; for, most priests have gone through the same sort of training-schools and they thoroughly enjoy recalling such incidents as those which His Eminence describes. His judgment on the comparative value of these two types of Catholic institution and his estimate of the character and personality of the directors and teachers in each of them is enlightening for Catholic educators. It is the judgment of a man whose life has been partially moulded by both these influences and who looks back after many years upon the results which each is fitted to achieve.

Student life in the American College, Rome, provides further scope for the Cardinal's gift of delightful reminiscence. The Eternal City, the Center of Christendom, thrills every Catholic who visits it but it leaves upon those who pass the years of their immediate preparation for the priesthood there, an indelible impression, a definite stamp and character of thought, which His Eminence aptly calls *The Roman Mind.* One is surprised, in reading the story of this period of the Cardinal's life, to realize that the names of theologians, who in the days of His Eminence's youth were so eminent, have passed into history without leaving more than a ripple on the surface of the history of theological studies, and one wonders why it takes so long to work out in the historical sequence of events the progress of philosophical and theological thought to which, in the Cardinal's youth, Pope Leo XIII gave such a remarkable impetus.

As a young priest in the Diocese of Boston Father O'Connell acquired the experience of priestly life in parish work which was to stand him in

good stead during the whole course of his subsequent career. It was a period of growth of the Church in the United States. There reigned considerable divergence of opinion on questions touching the general direction which this development should take. Young Father O'Connell held aloof from the turmoil of discussion but the Cardinal states his views on the subject in direct, one might almost say strong, language in his two chapters on "The Growing Church" and "Disturbing Controversies," respectively. One would have to be more conversant with the facts of the case than is the present reviewer, to risk an estimate, favourable or unfavourable, of His Eminence's opinion.

From curate in Boston to Rector of the American College in Rome was a great stride. Yet it was but the first of those rapid promotions which made young Father O'Connell's rise in the official life and hierarchy of the Church a very remarkable career. He was named successively Domestic Prelate, Bishop of Portland, Papal Envoy to Japan, Archbishop of Boston, and finally Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church. In each of these capacities, Cardinal O'Connell followed a uniform policy, a policy based on his ecclesiastical training and supported by his experience in Rome. He succeeded in his diplomatic mission to Japan and on his appointment to the See of Boston set to work with a strong hand to put his home in order. His Eminence looks with satisfaction on the success of these efforts to place his diocese on a firm foundation and to establish order in the organization of its various works and institutions. All this affords interesting reading, but events so recent are difficult to discuss in the review of an auto-biographical book whose author is still vigorously pursuing the policies which he long ago decided to adopt. Suffice it to say that few men have so fearlessly stuck to their purpose and few ecclesiastical personages will have left a more lasting mark upon the history of the church in this country than the Eminent author of *Recollections of Seventy Years.*

GERALD B. PHELAN.

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University of Toronto.

Studies in the Script of Tours, II: *The Earliest Book of Tours with Supplementary Descriptions of other Manuscripts of Tours.* By EDWARD KENNARD RAND with the assistance of Leslie Webber Jones. (Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America. 1934. Pp. xvii, 136; lx plates. $18.50.)

In this second volume of *Studies in the Script of Tours,* Professor Rand offers a very erudite and exhaustive paleographical study on *The Paris Eugippius* (Paris Bibl. Nat., Nouv. Acq., lat. 1575), containing extracts from St. Augustine, the earliest book of Tours. The second part of the

volume deals with the supplementary description of other Tours manuscripts.

Part A of the work is entirely concerned about the *Paris Eugippius*. After giving a detailed description of the material make-up of the book, Dr. Rand examines the script and illumination. A chapter treats of capitals, uncials, and semiuncials; another with minuscules, abbreviations, and punctuation. Chapter IV deals with the matter of corrections. The next examines the nature and date of the script in which a defense is offered for the designation "Merovingian Script." The Merovingian characteristics are accordingly studied and the traits of this writing are analysed.

In the investigation of the immediate model of the codex under consideration, the author concludes that it was in minuscule script though some copy in uncial must have had its relative influence upon it. The final chapters of Part A deal with a comparison of related manuscripts and with the importance of *Eugippius* particularly in regard to the beginnings of the new minuscule. In regard to the date of this work, it is stated that "all things considered, if we place our manuscript in the second quarter of the eighth century (725-750), nearer to the beginning than to the end of that period, we shall not go far astray." In regard to its center the author states: "I would conclude, therefore, that our book is characteristic of the work done at Tours early in the second quarter of the eighth century, auspicious in its original stirrings and in the promise of yet greater things to come."

In Part B are added supplementary descriptions of certain manuscripts "inadequately described" in Volume I of the *Studies in the Script of Tours*, with additional observations on some of the others there included. In this part, Professor Rand acknowledges the assistance of his former pupil, Professor Jones.

The excellent collotype plates appended in the volume are models of their kind. Professor Rand and his collaborator are to be warmly congratulated on this example of scholarship in this field. The Mediaeval Academy likewise deserves the thanks of all who are in any way interested in this sphere of endeavor so important to a proficiency in the knowledge of the sciences auxiliary to history.

G. B. Stratemeier, O. P.

The Catholic University of America.

Dante Vivo. By Giovanni Papini. Translated from the Italian by Eleanor Hammond Broadus and Anna Benedetti. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1935. $3.50. Pp. xiii, 340.)

"This is not the book of a professor for his students, of a critic for critics, of a pedant for pedants. . . . It is above all the book of an artist

about an artist, of a Catholic about a Catholic, of a Florentine about a Florentine." So Papini in his preface. Thus the ground is taken from under the feet of the merely critical historian, whether professor or pedant. There rests, however, Papini's quite general claim that he writes as an artist, a Catholic, a Florentine, about an artist, a Catholic, a Florentine.

Hence, a first criticism. Dante was more than just an artist, a Catholic, and a Florentine. He was a scholar, a lover, a husband, a politician, an ambassador, an exile, a philosopher, a philologist, a traveler, an historian, a controversialist, a theologian, a political scientist, a Latin stylist (after a fashion) both in prose and verse, and (to a degree that is difficult to determine) a mystic. Above all Dante was all these things together. He was the luminous focus of many converging rays. He was a whole with many organic parts; not just a heap of unconnected fragments . There is discernible in the multitude of his interests and activities a centre of unity. His life and work constitute a harmony based on a hierarchy of values, taken from the three worlds of matter, mind and mysteries, and set under the hegemony of God. There are many charming pages in Papini's book. The two chapters: "Poet beyond Everything" and "Master of Words" are (even in translation, but more particularly in the splendid Tuscan original) unforgettably high and beautiful. Papini picks out Dantesque beauties in words and imagery with the discernment of an artist. But it does not follow that Papini the artist, the Catholic, the Florentine, has given us Dante as a whole. In fact Papini seems afraid of looking at Dante as a whole; he seems afraid lest such a view might make the poet, "the happy mortal, the offspring of sun and earth, the man humanly human," too heroic, gigantic, statuesque, the figment of "the professional Dantists, Dantologists and Dantomaniacs."

Hence, a second criticism. Papini has pulled the poet to pieces. He has given us the rags and tatters of a torn-up tapestry. Book III deals with Dante's "Soul." That soul was in fact as organic a principle of life as is known in human history. Papini reveals the soul in these chapters: "Dante, the Sinner," "Self-praise," "The Crown and the Mitre," "Fears and Terrors," "The Tearful Poet," "Discontent and Nostalgia," "Dante's Cruelty," "Dante and Children"—("This open contempt for childhood, contrary to the spirit of Christianity, brings him close to the arrogant pagan intellectualism"), "Sacred and Profane Love" . . . "The Odour of Sacrilege," "The Christian"—("... a mind which seems pagan by nature").

The most serious criticism, however, is this that Papini has played Devil's Advocate with Freudian fancies in place of facts. The core of his apriorism he states quite clearly: "Every work of art is, in addition to many other things, an imaginary compensation which the artist offers to his unsatisfied soul" (p. 265). This theme keeps recurring. "Dante's

work . . . an instinctive and splendid compensation for his sufferings and his weaknesses . . . Platonism is sensuousness transformed . . . the effort to change the appetite for carnal pleasures into spiritual adoration . . . compensation for the sadness of his orphanhood." The story of Buonconte di Montefeltro (*Purg.* V) becomes "un letterario compenso" on the highly hypothetical assumption that Dante's hands were stained with Montefeltro's blood (p. 83). The great line:

"per ch'io sovra te coron e mitrio"
—Therefore, I crown and mitre you lord of yourself (*Purg.* xxvii, 142).

is thus psycho-analysed: "His mind selects precisely those two symbols of highest power to which his own secret desire had turned—the crown of the Emperor and the mitre of the Pope" (p. 155). In the chapter on "Dante's Cruelty" there is the hint of sadism. "Pietra" (the stony-hearted one) is quietly assumed to have been the really living object of sadistic passion—"He was in a frenzy of love . . . this mania of Alighieri's for catching people by the hair and tearing it out." "We may suppose that the cruelty which Dante imagined of himself may have been the compensation and the substitute for the actual cruelty which could rarely or never find an outlet in concrete form" (pp. 190-193).

There is much besides. "The book of an artist about an artist. . . ." Obviously, there are artists and artists. It is possible that Dante was one kind of an artist and Papini quite a different kind. ". . . of a Catholic about a Catholic." It would take too long to discuss this claim. It must be said almost emphatically that it is not the work of a theologian. The book teems with reckless propositions. ". . . of a Florentine about a Florentine." It is Dante himself who says that a Florentine spirit is "bizarro," and that long report has called the folk of Florence blind. "Vecchia fama nel mondo li chiama orbi" (*Inf.* xv, 67). Perhaps that explains all. One thing, however, must be said. Almost every Florentine can write; and Papini's prose is superlatively good. His sparkling Tuscan tumbles about like running water and it is no wonder if the translation does not fully convey the original. Once or twice, though, Papini forgets his mother-tongue, as when he writes: "The *Commedia,* in short, is to be the book as instrument, as hammer, scourge, wings, remedy.—La Commedia, insomma, vorrebbe esser il libro-strumento, il libro-martello, il libro-frustra, il libro-ala, il libro-medicina." You might think you were reading Nietsche on the *Uebermensch,* or, at least, Kantorowicz on Frederick II.

G. G. WALSH.

Gregorian University, Rome.

A History of Magic and Experimental Science: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Volumes III and IV. By LYNN THORNDIKE, Professor of History, Columbia University. (Columbia University Press. 1934. Pp. xxvi, 827, xviii, 767. $10.00 for both.)

These are the two companion volumes to Professor Thorndike's two previous volumes, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of our Era* (Macmillan, New York, 1923). The four volumes make up a work that reflects high credit on American scholarship. Our American History of Science Society honors itself by selecting the two latter volumes recently issued on science in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as one of the publications in its new series. They are well worthy of the distinction accorded them. At last the Middle Ages are, thanks to Professor Thorndike more than to any other, coming into something like their proper meed of appreciation for their devotion to science as well as to other phases of human interest. The medieval period, proclaimed so sterile in science, is now represented by these four octavo volumes with more than 3,000 pages of text. It is too bad that President White and Professor John Draper are not alive to see what the next generation has done in this matter of gathering information on so important a subject. Their works were a blot on American scholarship that is now being erased.

No longer is the searcher after knowledge to be treated to such delectable bits of information as in Sedgwick and Tyler's *A Short History of Science*: "Thomas Aquinas writes his famous *Imitatio Christi*." The end is not yet in the compilation of knowledge with regard to science in the Middle Ages, for Professor Thorndike confesses that there are still documents to be studied, manuscripts to be collated, and an immense amount of material to be gathered before we shall really begin to have anything like an adequate idea of the scientific lucubrations of the men who during this period of human history which has been so much misunderstood were occupied not only with the gathering of knowledge with regard to the intellectual life but also the physical manifestations around them. Sudhoff, the well known German medical historian, emphasizes the achievements "of the gloomy Middle Ages, hitherto penalized as the period of medical scholasticism, though now with tardy justice recognized as having accomplished good work."

These two volumes by Professor Thorndike on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries lack some of the paramount interest that the preceding volumes had, since the latter contain sketches of the work that had been done by such distinguished men and thinkers in science as Albertus, Magnus, Roger Bacon, and Thomas Aquinas.

One wonders whether applied science inasmuch for instance as it enabled

the men of this time to plan the building of cathedrals and then execute them so that they continue to be monuments of their builders seven centuries later, should not have found some place in these volumes. They were triumphs of engineering as well as of architecture, just as their marvelous stained glass was a wonder of knowledge of chemical composition as well as of artistry. They were empirics but sincere students. As it is Professor Thorndike deserves the gratitude not only of all those who are interested in the history of science and of the Middle Ages but also in the history of scholarship. Here is a striking exemplification of scholarly work that will surely prove a stimulus to others to go and do likewise.

JAMES J. WALSH.

New York City.

Die Kirche im Zeitalter des Individualismus: 1648 bis zur Gegenwart. Von. Dr. LUDWIG ANDREAS VEIT. 2 Hälfte: *Im Zeichen des herrschenden Individualismus: 1800 bis zur Gegenwart.* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder & Co. 1933. Pp. xxx, 515.)

The progress of research in the field of Church history and the ever deeper penetrating historical method have urged upon German Church historians the necessity of replacing the old *Handbuch* of Hergenröther by a new general presentation, which should incorporate the results of special researches carried on so fruitfully in Europe and the United States in the last two decades. The result is an excellent work of four volumes, written by four German specialists, under the general editorship of Monsignor Johann Peter Kirsch. The first volume, the work of the general editor, discusses the Church in the Greco-Roman world to the dissolution of the Roman Cultural unity; the second volume from the pen of Josef Greven gives the history of the Church from the eighth to the end of the thirteenth century; volume three by Andreas Bigelmair gives the same from the fourteenth century to 1648; and finally volume four by Ludwig Andreas Veit treats the history of the Church from 1648 to 1800, and from 1800 to 1932 in two separate books. Each volume is complete in itself, has an appendix with up-to-date bibliographical references, and an accurate index.

Dr. Veit, professor of Church history at the University of Freiburg (in Breisgau), is a master of the field which he treats. He calls the period following the Treaty of Westphalia the period of Individualism. Book one is that of the searching Individualism (1648-1800), book two that of the ruling Individualism (1800-1932). The author proves that this Individualism, born of Protestantism, became the fetish which humanity worshipped in ever growing numbers, so that by the nineteenth century it

dominated the political and economic thought of the western world. This rampant Individualism started an epidemic of "isms" which do not seem to have reached an end: Liberalism, Philosophism, Socialism, Communism, Capitalism, Conservatism, etc., etc. They are all discussed by the author, who then effectively shows that the only bulwark against this orgy of Individualism was that active, militant Catholicism which under the leadership of able men like Lamennais (before his defection) in France, Görres in Germany, and O'Connell in Ireland accepted the challenge of "isms," repudiated them in the Encyclical of Pius IX (*Syllabus*), and triumphed over them in the Vatican Council of 1870.

The most praiseworthy feature of the book is its completeness. Besides being an exhaustive Church history it treats also all questions which are contained in an average book on political history. It shows thus how intimately the two are interrelated, so that the thoughtful reader must conclude that the average writer of historical textbooks by omitting the treatment of Church history sins against historical accuracy.

Frequent and judiciously chosen footnotes, an excellently selected bibliography and a complete index enhance the value of the book.

TIBOR KEREKES.

Georgetown University.

Monumenta Ignatiana ex autographis vel ex antiquioribus exemplis collecta. [Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu; Series Tertia, Tomus Primus.] (Roma: Monumenta Historica. 1934. Pp. cclxxii, 459. 55 lire.)

This first volume of the third series of the *Monumenta Ignatiana* presents for study the text of the original documents, or oldest copies of documents, which form the immediate background of the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus. The Constitutions in the meaning of the authors comprise the *Examen*, the Constitutions proper, and the amplification of the Constitutions in the *Declarationes*. The purpose of the *Examen* was to bring the Society and the candidate for membership face to face for mutual assessment. The *Declarationes* have for their objective the application of the Rule to particular cases for the purpose of preventing the entry of laxity through the doors of easy dispensation and *epikeia*.

The documents submitted number forty-eight in all. They are examined critically and in accordance with the severest norms of the historical science. The critical studies are in Latin. The headings and the explanatory notes of the documents of Spanish text are also in Latin.

This work brings to the student of *Ignatiana* more than the first draft of the Constitutions of the Society; it permits him to glimpse behind the

scenes and witness the *dramatis personae* laboriously preparing and submitting tentative rules, then discussing, modifying, substituting, or deleting. The intimate views of their spiritual fathers will have a special appeal for the members of the Society; but they will be of deep interest also to extra-mural searchers into the causes of the Society's great growth and unique achievements. These latter will discover no scheme in the mind of Ignatius for the winning of power for the Society or the Church through chicanery and political intrigue. Nor will they find any embryonic beginnings of the terrible "Jesuit Oath" that for generations has been used to frighten simple folk. Rather they will witness Ignatius and his confrères laboring with eye single to the outlining of a plan of life that would develop highest personal excellence, and translate the same into efficient service to mankind and to God.

The pioneers of the Company of Jesus builded well. Their Constitutions have been tested by time and by trial, and they have been proof against the out-moding effect of both. Indeed, it seems safe to say that if at any future time the Loyolan dynamics fail of their function, it will be because of the foiling of their competency through the indifference of friends or the malice of enemies.

The book is excellently printed. A few unfortunate slips of the proof-reader are emended in a list of *errata* on the last page. There is a long catalogue of sources. General and special indexes render easily available every part of this very interesting study.

S. J. McDonald, O. Carm.

Mt. Carmel Rectory,
Tenafly, N. J.

Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Fratrum B. V. Mariae de Monte Carmelo. Vol. II: 1598-1902. By Gabriel Wessels, O. Carm. (Rome: Carmelite General Curia. 1934. Pp. 551.)

In 1907, Benedict Zimmerman, O. C. D., published in his *Monumenta Historica Carmelitana* the acts of the general chapters of the Carmelite Order from 1327 to 1362, and also extant fragments and notices of the proceedings of thirteenth-century chapters. Five years later Fr. Wessels published Vol. I of the *acta* from 1318 to 1593, also the complete text of the acts of the general chapter of 1387. The present volume includes the *acta* from 1598 to 1902, after which date the proceedings of the general chapters have been published in the *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum.* This work, then, makes much important material available to those who have not access to the general archives.

Besides the acts of 34 general chapters and one definitorial chapter, this volume also contains the proceedings of eight *congregationes,* each of

which elected a new prior general when the former one had either died or been promoted to a bishopric. Without a doubt the most fruitful chapter was that of 1680, whose decrees occupy 70 pages and were tantamount to the formulation of new constitutions. The addresses of Popes Benedict XIV and of Pius VI, who personally presided over the chapters of 1744 and 1775, respectively, are also printed, the former in a lengthy footnote, the latter in the text.

The varying vicissitudes of the Carmelite Order are recalled by the fact that the *acta* of the seventeenth century occupy 250 pages, those of the eighteenth 194, and finally those of the nineteenth century a mere 38. During the fifty years preceding 1838 no general chapter was convened because of the political disturbances of the times, which so direfully affected all the orders. After 1838 no chapter was held until 1856, but since 1889 they have been convened at regular six year intervals.

The three indices to this book by Arnold Wijtenburg, O. Carm., are of varying value. The index of persons is very complete, and the index of convents satisfactory, but the six-page index of the more important subjects contained in volumes I and II is, although useful, incomplete. For example, under *Hiberniae provincia* one is not referred to pp. 400, 405-6, which contain as much and as important information as the total of the six references given. Under *triremes* there is but one reference given, although some equally important and even more important than the cited one are found on pp. 9, 28, 35, 44, 67 and 190.

Only three misprints were noticed. On page 409 there is either a misprint or an error in the original MS., for Jerome Terzo died, not in 1788, but in 1758.

It is unthinkable that a serious student of Carmelite history, or of the history of religious orders in general, should neglect a book which gives so intimate a view of the government, and temporal and spiritual condition of a religious Order during three centuries as this does, and which, since it is edited from official documents, has the advantage of being thoroughly reliable.

LINUS GILGEN, O. Carm.

Carmelite College, Washington, D. C.

The Story of Blessed John Fisher. By NOEL MACDONALD WILBY. (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd. 1929. Pp. viii, 184.)

The Defence of the Priesthood. By JOHN FISHER. Translated by Right Rev. Mgr. P. E. Hallett. (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd. 1935. Pp. x, 150. 5 *s.*)

The Story of Blessed Thomas More. By a Nun of Tyburn Convent. Prefaced by Dom Bede Camm, O. S. B. (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd. 1908. Pp. xi, 174.)

Sir Thomas More. By JOSEPH CLAYTON. (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd. 1933. Pp. 144. 3/6.)

The Life and Illustrious Martyrdom of Sir Thomas More. By THOMAS STAPLETON. Translated by Philip E. Hallett. (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd. 1928. Pp. xvi, 235. 4 *s.*)

Current interest in Fisher and More is reason enough for this review. The fact that only one of the books is a 1935 publication need not bother us. Miss Wilby's work aims to be nothing but a short, popular life of Blessed John Fisher. She hopes it will bridge the gap between two heavier works on Fisher. As a bridge it is not adequate for adult traffic. The book will appeal to children. On the other hand, Hallett's translation of Fisher's, *Defence of the Priesthood,* is an excellent piece of editing and a real contribution to the study of Tudor Texts.

The good nun who writes on Blessed Thomas More aimed no higher than the comprehension of youth. Her pietistic presentation robs More of those manly qualities we admire in him. Clayton, however, gives a better picture. He selects his material with an eye to interest. He tells in a temperate way a splendid narrative about a splendid character. Hallett's translation of Stapleton's *Life,* is done with his usual care. Documentation is thorough and scholarly. In only one place (p. 38) could his editing have made the text more clear.

All of these books, each in its separate field, will add to the interest Christendom is now taking in these holy men.

ARTHUR DEERING.

The Catholic University of America.

L'Elément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVI^e^ siècle. Par PONTREN POLMAN, O. F. M. [Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis. Dissertationes ad gradum magistri in Facultate Theologica consequendum conscriptae. Series II. Tomus 23.] (Gembloux: J. Duculot. 1932. Pp. xxxvi, 580.)

During the sixteenth century historians of the past centered their attention largely on two broad fields: classical history and early Christianity.

The present volume deals with the historical writings of the age related to ecclesiastical subjects. Inasmuch as the authors considered by M. Polman only rarely failed to keep the religious struggle of their own day before their eyes, one must admit that the profuse ingenuity of both Catholic and Protestant authors was often directed at ends other than the truth. Nevertheless, the research and polemic of this period did much to advance textual criticism, perhaps even more to make obscure texts better known, and, in addition to leaving us a large body of literature which includes many excellent monographs and histories, helped to formulate the Protestant cults and to reshape Catholic orthodoxy.

In the intellectual sphere, as in the political, the Protestant revolt dealt with the nature of authority, a problem which is nowhere more crucial than in historical studies. In Catholic theology the appeal to the authorities of the past, and among them to human history, was always important. Melchior Cano, whose work outlined the authentic sources of Catholic doctrine, defended the value of nine sources other than the Bible, whereas the Protestants, in theory, admitted no authority save Holy Writ. The defense of these tenets, and argument on questions raised when evaluating the texts of patristic writers, the decrees of general councils, and lay or clerical histories, sharpened the critical faculties and augmented the learning of writers on both sides of the struggle.

In view of the cardinal importance of the subject, it is perhaps surprising that the present work, as the author himself avers in his preface, is the first treatment of the theme. Although Wachler, Baur, and Fueter discuss the better known treatises, such as the Magdeburg Centuries and the Annals of Baronius, there is no work which considers the views on history of Protestant and Catholic statesmen, theologians and historians with any attempt at completeness.

M. Polman has published two excellent articles in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* dealing with topics treated in the present volume. *The Polemic Method of the First Opponents of the Reformation,* which appeared in 1929, sums up a difficult subject with originality and conciseness. This was followed by a thorough and illuminating article on Flacius Illyricus. ("La méthode polémique des premiers adversaires de la Reforme," T. XXV, 1929, pp. 471-506; "Flacius Illyricus, historien de l'Eglise," T. XXVII, 1931, pp. 27-73.)

The work we are now considering is divided into two books, the first of which treats Protestant writers and the second Catholics. Each book is divided into two sections; the first discusses the accumulation of historical material, and the second the synthesis of this material by writers of the respective sects. In each book the section on the accumulation of material is subdivided into two parts: the history of dogma, and the history of the Church. It would be useless to criticize this outline too closely; let it

suffice to ask how a plan so arbitrary could fit so variable and turbulent a period as the reformation.

The wooden, inflexible nature of M. Polman's outline does much to mitigate the value of his erudition to the reader. It is difficult to find a person or subject treated in a unified or complete manner. Melchior Cano, whom we have already mentioned, and whose importance is fully realized by M. Polman (p. 309), can be studied in this volume only by turning to numerous brief references to him. The same may be said of Cassander or of Peter Martyr, or of a topic such as the legend of the female Pope, or the donation of Constantine.

M. Polman has a tendency, which his subject naturally fosters, to emphasize theological issues. Granted that in many sixteenth-century tracts the so-called "historical element" is far less apparent than the theological element, nevertheless, in a work devoted to the historical factor, this aspect must be made constantly manifest. In line with the theological emphasis is the almost total neglect of political questions. In a work which must of necessity take up the Council of Trent, the Colloquy of Poissy, and other similar gatherings, a closer consideration of the political world is essential.

Although one may regret that the integration and unity of M. Polman's preparatory studies has to some extent been sacrificed in this work, one cannot but thank the author for opening up so large and new a field, and hope, as he does, that others will continue the work.

Columbia University, New York. ARTHUR M. BULLOWA.

Colonial Hispanic America: A History. By CHARLES EDWARD CHAPMAN. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. 405. $2.40.)

In his foreword to this first balanced attempt to produce a textbook on the colonial aspects of Hispanic American history, Professor Herbert Bolton writes that "Few if any scholars are better equipped than Dr. Chapman to write the history of Hispanic America." With this judgment both the scholar and the casual reader are bound to agree, as the author has spared no pains to make this introduction to a comparatively new and vast field of history a volume of stimulating writing as well as a mine of factual material. Beginning with the discovery of the New World by Columbus, Chapman carries the story of the Americas down to the end of the Wars of Independence, packing into 345 pages a glamorous procession of events the like of which the world will never see again.

Out of the many questions treated, none so lends itself to quotation as a few of the author's observations on the old theme of Spanish cruelty toward the natives. Speaking of the Spaniards in the early days of West Indian colonization, he writes (p. 25):

Unquestionably there was cruelty, but probably not more than would have been the case with any people in their position in that or any other period of history.

He assigns to Las Casas and others a major portion of the blame for the exaggerations and calumnies concerning Spain's treatment of the Indians when he says (p. 112):

The stories of cruelties against the Indians, which may have had even more *raison d'être* in the case of the English colonists, attained to such proportions as they did, because of the very vigor and, indeed, the exaggeration of the Spanish humanitarian denunciations of existing practices.

These quotations serve to show the eminently fair and impartial treatment which is a noteworthy feature of the volume. At the same time, there are some interpretations with which the reviewer does not agree. On Dr. Chapman's observation (p. 124) that "Even among the aristocracy bathing was infrequently indulged in . . . ," it is well to make a corollary observation such as the Rev. Dr. Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., made in a recent paper when he declared that Chapman "seems to forget, however, that the resurgence of the bathtub did not take place in our own United States until its amazing appearance in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1842; that the news of this deplorable innovation created an uproar of opposition and protest; and that, either to thwart the danger of its becoming popular or to profit by this new and rare luxury, Virginia placed a tax of thirty-one dollars on bathtubs." Exception is taken also to these remarks on colonial morality: "Thereafter she [the colonial wife and mother] was as faithful and devoted to him [her husband] and his children, as he was faithless, though also 'devoted,' to her" (p. 125). This is too broad a generalization, as is the following sentence concerning Miranda, the revolutionist: "His relations with women were far from being above reproach, but this was a matter of no particular importance to Spanish Americans, then or since" (p. 228). Spanish Americans, "then or since" or today would have good cause for resentment at such remarks even in a book which the author pleads must be restricted to generalization and interpretation. Attention is called to the sentence (p. 116) which sets the number of viceroys in New Spain at fifty when the correct number is sixty-three.

No reviewer could fail to compliment Dr. Chapman on the magnificent bibliography which he furnishes; nor can too much praise be given to his fresh, penetrating, and instructive words on many of the items which he lists as worthy of particular notice. Scholars and teachers of Hispanic American history should note the many Americans whose services in the Wars of Independence are given brief mention by Dr. Chapman (pp. 328-332). Thesis topics abound in the collection, and future research in

this direction should give us a fuller understanding of the part Americans played in helping our neighbors to the south win their independence from Spain between 1810 and 1824.

PAUL V. MURRAY.

Catholic University of America.

The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New. By ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN, Professor of History in Harvard University. Volume IV: *Philip the Prudent.* (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. xxiv, 780. $7.50.)

With this volume, the fourth in the series, Professor Merriman concludes his monumental work on the rise of Spain from a loosely organized kingdom under Ferdinand and Isabella to the status of a mighty empire under Philip II. By supplying us with this scholarly narrative of an extremely difficult and highly important period of Spanish history Professor Merriman has merited the esteem and gratitude of every student and teacher seeking a reliable reference work on Spain's political career in the Old World as well as in the New. It will without doubt be generally recognized and widely used as the standard authority in English.

The present volume deals with Philip II, during whose reign (1556-1598) Spain reached the zenith of her power and prestige among the nations of the world and then, toward the end of his reign, began to decline in this regard, foreshadowing Spain's further collapse in world politics under the Hapsburgs of the seventeenth century. In keeping with this fundamental feature of Philip II's reign, the volume is divided into two parts; *viz.*, "The Spanish Empire at Its Greatest Territorial Extent" (pp. 3-406) and "The Turn of the Tide" (pp. 409-680). Each part is again divided into chapters, chronologically and regionally arranged, treating as a unit some particular phase of Spanish politics under Philip II. The chapters themselves are carefully analyzed, the analysis being indicated by topic-headings. This is a highly commendable feature of Professor Merriman's work, manifesting careful and close study on his part and making it easy for his readers to locate at a glance any particular incident for which they may wish to consult the volume.

The narrative begins with an interesting life and character sketch of "The Prudent King," depicting his early education and environment, his personal traits, and his attitude toward the so-called Counter-Reformation. In the following four chapters we see Philip in the struggle with the troublesome Moriscos and the menacing Turks, in the management of Spain's vast possessions in the New World, in the conflict with the rival nations of Western Europe, and in the long-sought acquisition of Portugal and her overseas possessions as part of the Spanish empire.

The second part of the volume is prefaced with a very excellent study

of the Spanish government system under Philip. Then, in three chapters, we witness the beginnings of Spain's political decline: the defeat of the Invincible Armada, the contest with Aragon for the preservation of a united Spain, and the costly clash with France and the Low Countries. Thus it was that, to quote Professor Merriman, "The legend of Spain's invincibility . . . received rude shocks during the two closing decades of the reign of the Prudent King" (p. 567).

The final chapter, an excellent specimen of historical composition, summarizes "the fundamental reasons which combine to explain why the Spanish Empire, so overwhelmingly preponderant in the middle decades of the sixteenth century, should have disintegrated with such tragic rapidity in the succeeding age" (p. 671). Following are the general reasons developed by the author: (1) the growth of the Spanish Empire was abnormal and unnatural; (2) the Iberian peoples tended to be separatistic and diversified; (3) the Spanish Empire was too far flung; (4) the rulers adhered too long to largely antiquated ideas and principles, economic as well as political. The "more immediate and specific" reasons Professor Merriman sums up in the following words: "Of these, Charles's utilization of Spanish resources for non-Spanish purposes, his bestowal of his Burgundian inheritance on Philip instead of on Ferdinand, the Prudent King's meticulous paternalism, and still more his ruinous economic impolicy" (p. 678). "Paradoxical as it may seem," the author concludes, "it was the very continuity of her [Spain's] imperial tradition that furnishes the chief explanation of the suddenness of her rise and of her fall. For her it was all or nothing; and her loyalty to the great task which Destiny had given her brought her into fatal conflict with the principles that rule the modern world" (p. 680).

One need but peruse the bibliographical notes appended to each chapter and glance at the profusion of footnote references to appreciate how diligently and carefully Professor Merriman pursued his researches toward producing a volume that answers the postulates of solid historical scholarship. In the matter of presentation and interpretation this study of Philip II's reign is keenly discerning and strictly impartial. It provides a picture of the Prudent King far more favorable and attractive than the one that has so long been regarded as true and authentic.

The present volume contains the General Index to the series, comprising a hundred pages, and like the preceding volumes is the last word in the art of bookmaking. We heartily recommend to teachers and students this admirable study and sincerely congratulate Professor Merriman on the completion of a work which undoubtedly places him among the foremost authorities on this particular period of Spanish history.

FRANCIS BORGIA STECK.

Catholic University of America.

The Romance of the Floridas. By MICHAEL KENNY, S. J. (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company. 1934. Pp. xxiii, 395. $3.75.)

As the sub-title states, this is an account of "The Finding and the Founding" of the land which up till 1670 was known to the Spaniards as "La Florida." Accordingly, the volume is divided into two parts. The first of these (pp. 1-90), entitled "The Finding," begins with the discovery of the Florida peninsula in 1513 and terminates with the failure of the Luna-Villafañe enterprise in 1561. The second part of the volume (pp. 91-342), which deals with "The Founding" of Florida, opens with the establishment of the town of St. Augustine in 1565 and ends with the departure of the Jesuits from Florida in 1572 and the death of Menéndez de Avilés two years later. The last chapters (XVIII and XIX) are for obvious reasons fragmentary in character, while in content they are in large measure unrelated to the scope of the volume, Spain having in 1670 officially recognized England's claim to Virginia and Carolina.

Fr. Kenny's volume is based almost entirely on Woodbury Lowery's *The Spanish Settlements in the United States* (Vol. I, 1513-1561 and Vol. II, 1562-1574), an exhaustive work now out of print but still our standard source of information regarding the history of Florida from 1513 to 1574. Due probably to an oversight, this work of Lowery is not listed in Fr. Kenny's bibliography, though due credit is given it in the course of the narrative and in the Appendix (p. 366). There are several features of the volume that deserve commendation. The story of the Jesuit period which takes up nearly the whole of the volume is interestingly and sympathetically related, while the make-up of the volume is very attractive. In chapters IX and X new matter is offered to explain why the Jesuits delayed heeding the summons of Menéndez to come to Florida and found missions for the Indians. Then, the author's delineation of the character of Menéndez is well done. In exonerating Menéndez from guilt in the well-known Ribault affair Fr. Kenny goes even farther than Bourne and Lowery. Finally, in chapter XIX the reader will find a brief but fair appreciation of the remarkable success achieved by the Franciscans in Florida after the departure of the Jesuits in 1572.

Where the volume leaves much to be desired, aside from errors of more or less importance, is in matter of method. For one thing, Fr. Kenny is not consistent in citing sources, when he cites them at all. Sometimes the references are placed at the bottom of the page, while at other times they are inserted in the text between parentheses. More serious is the insertion of translations from the Spanish work, *La Florida del Inca*, without reference to the fact that these translations were taken from the present reviewer's study of "Neglected Aspects of the De Soto Expedition" (*Mid-America*, July, 1932). This seems strange in view of the fact that in

the case of other writers (*e. g.*, pp. 45, 46, 60) due recognition is given. Wholly uncommendable are, at page 43, Fr. Kenny's misstatement concerning De Soto's "main object" and his uncalled-for aspersion in the matter of Marquette and the 1673 French expedition to the Mississippi. To reject another's opinion after serious and unbiased study is quite in keeping with sound scholarship; but to misstate another's opinion, as Fr. Kenny does, whether wittingly or unwittingly, does not find favor among scholars. It is a pity Fr. Kenny dragged the entirely unrelated matter concerning Marquette into this volume on Florida, all the more so since he neglected both in the text and in the bibliography to cite the work (*The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673*—Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1928) he had in mind when he cast the unwarranted aspersion on its author. The work should have been cited in order that interested readers might have a chance to study the question at issue and decide for themselves.

Despite its commendable features—and the present reviewer gladly recognizes them—Fr. Kenny's volume will by no means supplant in the circles of critical historians the far more scholarly volumes of Lowery on *The Spanish Settlements in the United States* (1513-1574), of which some enterprising publisher would do well to get out a second edition.

FRANCIS BORGIA STECK.

The Catholic University of America.

The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition. Vol. I: *The Nineteenth Century.* By MAISIE WARD. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1934. Pp. x, 428. $3.75.)

Once again the Catholic Church in England is placed under a debt of gratitude to a Ward. First, W. G. Ward placed his keen mind, his logic and devotion at her service upon his conversion. Two of his children, especially Bernard, teacher, writer and bishop, and Wilfrid, wrought manfully for her. Now the third generation is at work. Maisie Ward, daughter of Wilfrid, is continuing the tradition of the family. As an exponent of Catholic evidence, as a publisher — she is associated with her husband F. J. Sheed in the house of Sheed and Ward — and now as the biographer of her father and mother and the world of Catholic thought and action in which they lived, she is continuing into the second hundred years the influence of a single family.

It is to Wilfrid Ward's studies of Wiseman and Newman that we owe our best knowledge of the Catholic Church in England in what he called "a state of siege." His own period, that described by his daughter, is aptly termed the "era of transition" inaugurated by Leo XIII and still

continuing, though it would seem that now the Church is again resuming the offensive. The whole story of this volume can perhaps best be summed up in the fact that the son of Ultramontane Ward, former disciple of Newman and later the "genius" of Manning, should write the life of the former and that Vaughan the "fidus Achates" of Manning should be the one to inaugurate the Newman policy at Oxford so bitterly opposed by his master. If Wilfrid Ward's life of Newman is the story of his defeat, his daughter's life of himself is that of the triumph of Newmanism. To read this life is to be enabled to visualise the whole of Catholic activity in the last quarter of the past century, to see the interplay of its intellectual reactions among non-Catholics and to behold the dawning consummation of Wiseman's vision of a homogeneous Church devoid of convert and old Catholic parties. It is a splendid study of a great Catholic mind and will remain a fixed point in Catholic history. The second volume will be eagerly awaited.

ANSELM M. TOWNSEND, O. P.

New York City.

The Early History of Christ's College, Cambridge, Derived from Contemporary Documents. By A. H. LLOYD. (Cambridge University Press. 1934. Pp. xvii, 477. $7.50.)

To most Catholics Christ's College, Cambridge, suggests St. John Fisher, and many of them are under the impression that he, along with the Countess of Richmond (mother of Henry VII) founded it. Strange to say, that mistaken notion was actually fostered by the publication, thirty or forty years ago of Peile's *Christ's College,* since that excellent work devotes comparatively small space to the history of the college prior to the sixteenth century. The fact is that Christ's College, under the name of God's House, entered into being before the middle of the fifteenth century and owes its inception to a priest, William Byngham, whose purpose was to establish a training centre for school-masters, and it had already made a notable contribution to English education when Fisher chose it as the object of his splendid benefaction.

To render this clear, as well as to dissipate other errors or obscurities, is the aim of the present volume. The author confines himself to the period between the founding of the college and its rejuvenation by Bishop Fisher and the Lady Margaret, a period of a little over half a century. The wealth of detail is admirably handled and important documents are printed in full. Thus we now have, in this book and in the work of Peile, a complete presentation of the history of a college which seems to enjoy a notable power to arouse the loyal affection of its members.

EDWIN RYAN.

Roland Park, Baltimore.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION will be held at the Hotel Copley-Plaza, Boston, Mass., Thursday to Saturday, December 26-28, 1935, under the auspices of His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston. The committee on local arrangements has been formed with the Right Rev. Monsignor Michael John Splaine, D. D., as chairman, and the Rev. William J. McCarthy, as secretary. On the evening of Thursday, December 26, a public reception will be tendered to Cardinal O'Connell. The speakers on the programme for the three morning sessions are: Rev. Robert Howard Lord, Ph. D., of St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Mass.; Rev. John B. Mullin, of Brookline, Mass.; Martin R. P. McGuire, Ph. D., of the Catholic University of America; Rev. Philip J. Furlong, D. D., of Cathedral College, New York; Daniel Sargent, M. A., Harvard University; P. G. E. Miller, Ph. D., Harvard University; Marshall W. Baldwin, Ph. D., New York University; Rev. Richard J. Quinlan, M. A., Diocesan Supervisor of Schools, Boston, Mass.; and George Shuster of *The Commonweal*. Two luncheon conferences will be directed by Marie R. Madden, Ph. D., of Fordham University, and by Rev. Dr. Charles E. Schrader, S. J., University of Detroit. The presidential address by Professor Jeremiah D. M. Ford, Ph. D., of Harvard University, will be given at the general session Friday afternoon, December 27th.

The Rev. Harold J. Bolton, S. T. D., assistant-pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Muskegon, Michigan, has begun a complete Index of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW (vols. I-XX, 1915-1935) under the authority of the editorial board. The work is a labor of love on Dr. Bolton's part and the publication of the Index will be awaited with considerable interest by all students of Church history and of American Catholic history.

The Very Rev. Dr. Michael J. O'Connell, C. M., formerly head of the history department of Webster College, St. Louis, and professor of history and patrology at Kenrick Seminary, that city, has been made president of De Paul University, Chicago.

The Rev. Dr. Gerald J. Geary, archivist of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, has been added to the faculty of the University of San Francisco as professor of history.

A career of splendid promise was ended by the death, on September 6, of Professor Louis O'Brien, of the faculty of history of the University of California. Dr. O'Brien's chief published work is *Innocent XI and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (1930).

The Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Kentucky, and the Catholic historical circles of the United States suffered a distinct loss in the death of Sister Columba Fox, whose *Life of Bishop Bruté (1761-1841)*, the founder of the Nazareth Community, appeared in 1925 (United States Catholic Historical Society, *Monograph Series*, IX).

The University of London will, in December and March, issue to universities, colleges, learned societies, and other institutions, invitations for the appointment of delegates to attend the fourth Anglo-American Historical Conference to be held in July, 1936, at the Institute of Historical Research in London. Sections have been arranged in the fields of medieval, diplomatic, economic, British colonial, British local, Slavonic, and Oriental history, the history of parliamentary institutions, and the historical relations between Europe and America. Persons interested in historical research who would like to receive invitations should send their names to Mr. Guy Parsloe, secretary, Institute of Historical Research, Malet St., London, W. C. 1.

The 26th International Congress of Americanists, to be held in Seville, October 12-30, has entered much of historical interest on its programme.

The American Council of Learned Societies again offers a limited number of small grants to assist research by scholars trained in the method of investigation, in carrying on definite projects in the humanistic sciences: philosophy, philology, literature and linguistics, archaeology and art, musicology, history (especially all branches of cultural and intellectual history, but exclusive of those branches that are essentially social, economic, and political), and auxiliary sciences. Applicants, who must be citizens of the United States or Canada or permanently employed therein, must possess a doctor's degree or its equivalent; and must apply on special forms to the Secretary of Fellowships and Grants, American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth St., Washington, D. C., not later than January 15, 1936.

The U. S. government has extended an invitation to the Pan American Institute of Geography and History to hold its second general assembly in Washington, D. C., Oct. 14-19, 1935, and has requested the governments which are members of the Pan American Union to send official delegates to the meeting. The detailed programme will be announced as soon as possible. Correspondence relative to the congress should be addressed to Dr. William Manger, Pan American Union, Washington, D. C.

The National Conference of Jews and Christians sponsored the sessions of the Institute of Human Relations, held at Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, August 25-30, 1935. Among the Catholic scholars

who participated in the programme were Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia University, co-chairman of the Conference, Dr. Michael Williams and Dr. George Shuster of *The Commonweal*, William Franklin Sands, Father Wilfrid Parsons, editor of *America*, Father Michael J. Ahern, S. J., of Weston College, Rev. T. Lawrason Riggs, chaplain at Yale University, Rev. William G. Ryan of Brooklyn, N. Y., Rev. Michael Charles Carey, Catholic pastor of Williamstown, and Monsignor Guilday. The Hon. Newton D. Baker presided at the general sessions. At the last session on Friday evening, Dr. Hayes gave a detailed summary of the whole Conference, commenting favorably on its rich potentialities for the moderation and final elimination of prejudices, racial, social and religious, which disturbed the harmony of civic life in the United States. Several incidents marred the objective spirit of the Conference, but these the Catholic members were assured would be carefully avoided in future sessions. Among the Round Tables that on Religious Education drew a large group, and it was gratifying to the Catholic members to witness the intelligent attitude of many Protestant and Jewish leaders on the tragic future of our country unless some means be found to bring religious training back to the public schools.

The University of California Press, Berkeley, has recently published *Historical Bibliographies*, a new tool for research, by Edith M. Coulter and Melanie Gerstenfeld, with a foreword by Professor Bolton. The work brings together, in 179 pages, the important bibliographies and bibliographical manuals.

The *Report* of the sixteenth annual meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference, June 1934, contains a paper on the History of Franciscan Bibliography, presented by Hugolin Lemay, O. F. M.

The Mediaeval Academy of America has published Bulletin No. 12 of *Progress of Medieval Studies in the United States of America and Canada* (pp. 75). Prepared by Professor J. F. Willard, the contents include general matter (titles of papers read at meetings of learned societies, forthcoming books, and items of special interest), a list of Medievalists and their publications, obituaries, and a list of doctoral dissertations in progress or completed.

The Birth of the Middle Ages, by H. St. L. B. Moss, is issued by the Oxford University Press. From the same press comes the *Tradition of Boethius* by Howard L. Patch; and *St. Ambrose: Life and Times*, by F. Homes Duddon.

Vol. II of the *Makers of Christianity* series is by John T. McNeill, and carries the story from Alfred the Great to Schleiermacher (Henry Holt and Co.).

Biographical sketches of St. Monica, St. Louis, Thomas More, and others appear as *Married Saints*, by Selden P. Delany (Longmans, Green and Co.).

Vol. VIII, the final volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History*, will be issued in November under the title, *The Growth of Nationalities* (Macmillan).

The seminary library of Mount Saint Alphonsus, the Redemptorist Scholasticate at Esopus, New York, possesses a copy of the *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio* by St. John Fisher. The title page states that it is "Aeditio ultima, variis annotationibus in margine locupletata." It was printed in 1537 at Antwerp "apud Joan. Steelsium in scuto Burgundiae." Besides the *Confutatio* the volume contains the *Sacri Sacerdotii Defensio*. The *Confutatio* numbers 360 leaves (only every second page is numbered) and the *Defensio*, 52 leaves. The binding is comparatively recent. (FRANCIS J. CONNELL, C. SS. R.)

Articles in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, July-October issue: "La chapelle de la Passion des Cordeliers de Troyes," by Ephrem Longpré, O. F. M.; "Tableau littéraire de l'histoire des Frères Mineurs Récollects du Canada (XVII^{e}-XIX^{e} siècle)," by Hugolin Lemay, O. F. M.

Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu, July-December number, prints as major studies: "Die Bekehrung der Paraver (1535-37)," by Georg Schurhammer, S. J.; "Auctuarii Auctoria, II: Addenda quaedam ad auctarium Bellarminianum Patris X. M. Le Bachelet," by Sebastiano Tromp, S. J.; and "Die Marianischen Kongregationen vor der Bulle *Omnipotentis Dei*: ein Beitrag zu ihrer Charakteristik," by Josep Miller, S. J. The briefer commentaries are: "Recibimiento hecho a S. Ignacio de Loyola en Azpertia en 1535," by Dionisio F. Zapico, S. J.; "P. Dietrich Geeraerts, S. J., von Amsterdam (1531-1558)," by Alfons Kleiser, S. J.; and "The Grave of Brother Bento de Goes, S. J. [at Suchow, China]," by Cornelius Wessels, S. J. There is also a continuation of a "Bibliographia de Historia S. J. pro anno 1933," compiled by Edmundo Lamalle, S. J.

The *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, April number, prints the following articles: "L'intervention de l'Église de Rome à Corinthe vers l'an 96," by R. Van Cauwelaert, O. S. B.; "S. Athanase a-t-il employé l'expression *O kuriakos anthropos?*" by J. Lebon; and "Le martyre de la papauté (1769-1790), III," by P. Richard. The articles in the July number are: "La première rédaction du *Cur Deus homo* de S. Anselme," by E. Druwé, S. J.; and "Le changement doctrinal dans l'Église anglicane sous Édouard VI (1547-1553), I," by G. Constant.

No. 26 of the Lutterworth Papers is Henry J. Cowell's study of the *Edict of Nantes and Afterwards* (Lutterworth Press).

Joan of Arc, by Milton Waldham, is a new publication of Little, Brown and Co.

Emile Cammaerts has written a biography of *Albert, Third King of the Belgians* (Macmillan).

The appearance of the twenty-fifth fascicle of the *Texte und Arbeiten*, published by the archabbey of Beuron, may well serve as the occasion of a brief notice concerning this "large and noble enterprise, worthy of a great abbey" (Donatien de Bruyne, *Revue Bénédictine*, XXXII, 1920, p. 82). Palaeographers need no introduction to the *Institut für Palimpsestforschung*, founded at Beuron in 1912, and text critics have too often extolled the quality of the workmanship represented by the publications whose titles are given below, to render further commendation necessary (A. Souter, *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXV, 1924, 327-9: a review of nos. 7-9; J. Goettsberger, *Theologische Revue*, XXIV, 1925, 321-5; *ibid.*, XXIX, 1930, 102-4). As will be seen, only a few numbers of the series are primarily historical in character (the Scriptures and the liturgy are a rather natural element for monks), but numbers 5, 6, 10-11, 12, 15-18, and 25 have undoubtedly a broader interest than the rest, and in any case, the implications of scholarship of this kind are always of far-reaching importance. For the biblicist, of course, and the liturgiologist, the series is one of immense value, if only because of the unusually splendid apparatus which the Beuron scholars have at their disposal in the "Sabatier," compiled during long years by Pfarrer Joseph Denk of Munich, and now deposited within the walls of their monastery. But these monks are masters also of the modern technique of editing, and their skill, not to say their prowess, seems to be improving steadily, to judge by the very latest number.

One cannot leave this series without a special word of comment on the work of the abbey press. The unusually elaborate apparatus included in all of the volumes represents a severe test of the skill of any group of printers. Surely, the lay-brothers of Beuron deserve high praise for their sustained exhibition of distinguished craftsmanship.

TEXTE UND ARBEITEN, herausgegeben von der Erzabtei Beuron. I. Abteilung: *Beiträge zur Ergründung des älteren lateinischen christlichen Schrifttums und Gottesdienstes.*

1/2. *Prophetentexte in Vulgataübersetzung nach der ältesten Handschriftenüberlieferung der St. Galler Palimpseste N. 193 u. N. 567* in Umschrift u. mit Einleitung von P. Alban Dold, OSB. Mit zwei Lichtdrucken. XL u. 172S. 1917.

3/4. *Das Verzeichnis der St. Galler Heiligenleben und ihrer Handschriften in Cod. Sangall. N. 566.* Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte der St. Galler Handschriften-Sammlung. Nebst Zugabe einiger hagiologischer Texte von P. Emmanuel Munding, OSB. XVI u. 184S. 1918.

5. *Ein vorhadrianisches gregorianisches Palimpsest-Sakramentar in Goldunzialschrift.* Nebst Zugabe einer unbekannten Homilie über das kanaanäische Weib. Herausgegeben von P. Alban Dold, OSB. Mit 1 Lichtdruck. VIII u. 79S. 1919.

6. *Königsbrief Karls des Grossen an Papst Hadrian über Abt-Bischof Waldo von Reichenau-Pavia.* Palimpsesturkunde aus Clm 6333, herausgegeben von P. Emmanuel Munding, OSB. Mit 2 Lichtdrucken. VIII u. 68S. 1920.

7/9. *Konstanzer altlateinische Propheten- u. Evangelienbruchstücke mit Glossen,* nebst zugehörigen Prophetentexten aus Zürich u. St. Gallen, teils neu, teils erstmals herausgegeben u. bearbeitet von P. Alban Dold, OSB. Mit 5 Schriftbildern in Lichtdruck. XII u. 280S. 1923.

10/11. *Abt-Bischof Waldo, Begründer des goldenen Zeitalters der Reichenau.* (Mit 4 Beilagen) Von P. Emmanuel Munding, OSB. XXIV u. 132S. 1924.

12. *Das Palimpsestsakramentar im Cod. Augiensis CXII.* Ein Messbuch ältester Struktur aus dem Alpengebiet. Herausgegeben u. mit Einleitung versehen von P. Alban Dold, OSB. Nach seiner liturgiegeschichtlichen Stellung untersucht von Dr. Anton Baumstark.—Anhang: Zwei altfränkische Gebete aus Cod. Aug. CCLIII. LX u. 40S. 1925.

13. *Lateinische Fragmente der Sapientialbücher aus dem Münchener Palimpsest Clm 19105.* Herausgegeben und bearbeitet von P. Alban Dold, OSB. Mit 3 Schriftbildern u. 1 Miniaturentafel. XXXVI u. 52S. 1928.

14. *Getilgte Paulus- u. Psalmentexte unter getilgten ambrosianischen Liturgiestücken aus Cod. Sangall. 908.*—Anhang: Unbekannte u. bekannte Donaueschinger Väterfragmente. Herausgegeben u. bearbeitet von P. Alban Dold, OSB. Mit 11 Schriftbildern. VIII u. 52S. 1928.

15/18. *Palimpsesttexte des Clm 6333: I. Die benediktinischen Texte.* Herausgegeben und bearbeitet von P. Emmanuel Munding, OSB. *II. Die liturgischen Texte.* Herausgegeben und bearbeitet von P. Alban Dold, OSB.—Anhang: *Die Schriftzitäte der Regula S. Benedicti.* Bearbeitet von P. Paulus Volk, OSB. XVI u. 332S. u. 11 Schriftbilder. 1930.

19/20. *Zwei Bobbienser Palimpseste mit frühestem Vulgatatext aus Cod. Vat. Lat. 5763 und Cod. Carolin. Guelferbytanus.* 1. Eine Unzialhs. des 5. Jahrhunderts mit Texten aus dem Buche der Richter und dem Buche Ruth.—2. Eine Hs. in Halbunziale des 6. Jahrhunderts mit Texten aus dem Buche Job.—Anhang: Geschabte Paulustexte der 1. Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts mit einer gleichzeitigen unbekannten Liste Paulinischer Leseabschnitte in einer Bobbienser Hs. (Cod. Vat. Lat. 5755). Heraus-

gegeben u. bearbeitet von P. Alban Dold, OSB. LVIII u. 84S. u. 7 Schrifttafeln. 1931.

21/24. *Der Palimpsestpsalter im Codex Sangallensis 912, eine altlateinische Übersetzung des frühen 6. Jahrhunderts aus der einstigen Kloster-Bibliothek von Bobbio.* Herausgegeben u. untersucht von P. Alban Dold, OSB. u. Universitäts-Professor Dr. Arthur Allgeier.—Anhang: *Ein neues Bruchstück mit altlateinischem Jeremiastext in Cod. Sangall. 912.* XVIII u. 248S. u. 11 Schriftbilder. 1933.

25. *Die Zürcher und Peterlinger Messbuch-Fragmente aus der Zeit der Jahrtausendwende im Bari-Schrifttyp, mit eigenständiger Liturgie.* In vollständiger Textwiedergabe geboten und mit Erläuterungen versehen von P. Alban Dold, OSB.—Anhang: *Neue Blätter des Salzburger Kurzsakramentars.* LXXII u. 50S. u. 6 Tafeln mit Schrift- u. Miniaturenproben. 1934. (Anselm Strittmatter, O. S. B.)

Among the new issues of the Catholic Truth Society's pamphlets are listed: the *Counter Reformation,* by H. O. Evennett; the *Martyrdoms of SS. John Fisher and Thomas More,* by Msgr. P. E. Hallett; *Twenty-Five Years of Progress, a Jubilee Retrospect,* by G. Elliot Anstruther; and *Theosophy,* by the Rev. C. C. Martindale, S. J., one of the last in the series of *Studies in Comparative Religion.*

The papers read at the Summer School of Catholic Studies, held at Cambridge, Eng., in the summer of 1934, have been published under the title, *The Pre-Nicene Church,* with a preface by the Rev. C. Lattey, S. J. (Burns Oates etc.)

Additions to Duckworth's series of Great Lives are *Wolsey,* by Ashley Sampson; and *Sir Thomas More,* by Rev. Sir John O'Connell.

Sheed and Ward's interesting list of fall publications include: *St. Peter Canisius,* by Father James Brodrick, S. J.; *St. John Fisher,* by Vincent McNabb; *John Fisher and Thomas More,* by Richard L. Smith; *Edmund Campion,* by Evelyn Waugh; *Religion and the Modern State,* by Christopher Dawson; *Catholicism, Protestantism, and Capitalism,* by A. Fanfani; and *William of Ockham,* by Ernest Moody.

Autumn announcements of Burns Oates and Washbourne include the following titles: *St. John Fisher,* an Elizabethan biography, edited by the Rev. Philip Hughes; *Leo XIII, Italy and France,* by Count Eduardo Soderni; vol. III of the *Life and Labors of St. Vincent de Paul,* translated by Joseph Leonard, C. M., from the French of Pierre Coste, C. M.; *Blessed Gemma Galgani,* translated by Osmund Thorpe, C. P., from the original of Father Amadeo, C. P.; a modern edition of the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* by St. Bede the Venerable, translated by Thomas Stapleton; *St. Bede the Venerable,* by H. M. Gillett; the

Catholic Revival in Italy, by the Rev. H. L. Hughes; *St. John Bosco*, by F. A. Forber; *St. Clare of the Cross*, by E. A. Foran, O. S. A.; a new edition of Cardinal Wiseman's *Recollections of Rome*; the *Irish Martyrs of the Penal Laws*, by the Rev. Myles V. Ronan; and *St. Scholastica's Priory and the Conversion of England*, by the Rev. A. T. Sammons.

Algernon Cecil has written a biography of Sir Thomas More (Eyre and Spottiswoode).

Dominic Barberi in England, translated and edited by Father Urban Young, C. P., is a supplement to the *Life and Letters of Dominic Barberi*, by the same author (Burns Oates etc.).

The Celtic Church in Scotland, "a study of its penetration lines and art relationships," by W. Douglas Simpson, is written to advocate the claims of Whithorn as against Iona as the centre of the evangelization of Scotland, with St. Ninian as the apostle of the movement (Aberdeen University Press).

The historical contents of *Studies* for June concern Alfred Rosenberg as German Prophet, by John J. Coyne, S. J.; the Present Position of Catholics in Germany, by "Germanus"; the O'Clerys of Tirconnell, by the Rev. Paul Walsh; Religious Persecution in Mexico, by Michael Kenny, S. J.; Irish Builders of Colonial Rhode Island, by Dr. Richard J. Purcell; and the Faith in the South Seas, II, by Stephen J. Brown, S. J.

Through the courtesy of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, the Most Reverend Edward Byrne, D. D., the REVIEW has been honored with the gift of two handsome volumes, edited under the skilled and artistic direction of Patrick Canon Boylan, which contain all the descriptions, sermons and addresses of the Great Dublin Eucharistic Congress of 1932. The two volumes are generously illustrated and they form an enduring monument to Irish faith and piety. Two years were spent in preparing the volumes for the press and they appeared late last year. The first volume (pp. 227) contains an account of all the official receptions and religious ceremonies; the second (pp. 441) contains all the papers read during the Congress. Twenty-three countries are represented. The United States is represented by the Very Rev. Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen, Ph. D., of the Catholic University of America, who read a paper, entitled "Calvary on Irish Altars" (pp. 433-439) and by Dr. Guilday, of the same institution whose paper dealt with the Contribution of the Irish Laity to the Catholic Church in the United States (pp. 418-432).

Dr. William Henry Atherton, author of several valuable studies on the history of Montreal and Quebec, has just issued a series of chronological notes on the *History of the Harbour Front of Montreal* from the days of

its discovery by Jacques Cartier in 1535 to the present. This brochure will be followed by a study on *The Discovery of the St. Lawrence Seaway up to Montreal: 1534-1535.*

The University of North Carolina Press presents an illustrated history of the *Spanish Missions of Georgia,* by John Tate Lanning.

Judge J. Moss Ives's important contribution to the study of Maryland as the beginning of civil and religious liberty in America appears under the title, *The Ark and the Dove* (Longmans, Green and Co.).

Two studies of Chief Justice Taney are announced: one by C. W. Smith (University of North Carolina Press), the other by Carl B. Swisher (Macmillan).

At the annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Missouri, held in Columbia, May 9, the Very Rev. Charles L. van Tourenhout of Ste. Genevieve, spoke on "Ste. Genevieve, its Founding, its Inhabitants, and its Folklore."

The seventh annual meeting of the Iowa Catholic Historical Society, held at Sinsinawa last May, was devoted to the memory of Father Mazzuchelli. Signor Castigliano, Italian consul, spoke on the Contributions of Italians to the Middle West; Father M. M. Hoffman on Iowa's Debt to Mazzuchelli; Joseph Lacke on Wisconsin and Mazzuchelli; and George Phelan on Illinois and Mazzuchelli.

The twenty-fifth volume of the *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society contains an account of the Society's golden jubilee (1884-1934) by the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph H. McMahon, D. D., in which a glowing tribute is given to Thomas F. Meehan, K. S. G., the venerable editor of the *Records and Studies.* "Too much praise," said Monsignor McMahon, "can not be lavished upon the indefatigable efforts of one who modestly hides himself from publicity, but who has given unstintedly of his vast knowledge of Catholic history, especially in this section of the country, and whose admirable work in the cause has recently been recognized by the highest authority. I allude to the recipient of a recently richly deserved papal honor on the octogenarian editor of the Society's puplications—Thomas F. Meehan." Among the essays printed in this volume is "The First Jesuit Mission in Florida" (pp. 59-148), by Rev. Ruben Vargas Ugarte, S. J., of the Catholic University of Lima, Peru. Twenty newly discovered documents, translated by Rev. Aloysius J. Owen, S. J., of Woodstock College, form the basis of this valuable paper. Sister M. Ceslas (Normand), O. P., presents *The Financial Contribution of the French Clergy to American Independence, June 12-26, 1780* (pp. 163-208) based upon documents in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress. The essay was recently accepted as a master's

thesis by the Catholic University of America. The original copy in the University Library contains copies of all the documents used in the essay.

Contributions to *Mid-America* for July concern: Foundations of Catholic Secondary Education in Illinois, by Sister Mary Evangela Henthorne, B. V. M.; Governor Thomas Dongan's Expansion Policy (continued), by Henry A. St. Paul; a Note on the Catholic Church Organization in Central Illinois, by the Rev. Thomas Cleary; and Pierre De Smet, Frontier Missionary, by Thomas F. O'Connor.

The *Idaho Historical Quarterly*, published by the University of Idaho at Pocatello, with the cooperation of the State Historical Society, is a new periodical, the first issue of which is for May, 1935. The *Arizona Historical Review*, after suspension for nearly two years, reappeared with the January, 1935, issue.

Writing on Deserters in the Mexican War, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, for August, Edward S. Wallace tells the story of the "Irish Deserters" and the "Brigade of St. Patrick." "Curiously enough," the author states, "only seven out of the sixteen hanged admitted to being Roman Catholics and asked for the last rites from a priest. This possibly may show that there were as many Germans and Americans among them as Irishmen, and that the name 'Irish Deserters' was a misnomer. The list of their names also seems to bear this theory out." Some eighty in all were captured; fifty were hanged, the others were lashed and branded. When the attempt was made at Monterey to induce desertions, "not a single volunteer deserted, although nearly a third of their number were Catholics; on the contrary, the latter were so physically violent against the Mexican propagandists that all efforts in that direction quickly ceased." It is also pointed out that the court-martial was presided over by Col. Bennet Riley, "a Catholic himself who had risen from the ranks in the regular army through sheer merit and ability." A critical examination of this whole incident will be found in an essay by Thomas F. Meehan, entitled, "Catholics in the War with Mexico," in the *Historical Records and Studies* (U. S. Catholic Historical Society), XII (1918), 39-65. It is interesting to note that the same appeal made to the American soldiers to desert was later made during the Civil War by the Confederate agents in Ireland.

A book on the *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in New Spain* is in preparation for publication by Jerome V. Jacobsen, S. J., of Loyola University, Chicago. His study will reveal the coming of Jesuit educators to Mexico and will describe the early Jesuit colonial colleges and their development to the opening of the 17th century. The small band of Jesuits which arrived in 1572 set about establishing a center of Jesuit

education in the capital of New Spain and by the year 1600 with reinforcements from Europe had erected the material structure of a province that included colleges in nine other important cities of the land. These institutions lay as a power behind the missionary activities of the Society on the northern frontier, while at the same time they were foundations for a great educational movement which spread throughout New Spain and beyond to South America and to the Philippines during the course of two centuries. Obviously, the study necessitated a preliminary consideration of the educational efforts of those who had preceded the Jesuits in the New World—the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians. The source materials for the work were found in the libraries and National Archives of Mexico, the archives of colleges and states of Mexico, the Jesuit archives, and in the Bancroft Library of the University of California.

Peter M. Dunne, S. J., University of San Francisco, has ready for the press a manuscript on the history of the early Jesuit missions of the west coast of Mexico where now are the states of Sinaloa and Sonora. The story is carried on from the beginning of these missions in 1591 to 1632. The same author has completed another manuscript purporting to give the early history of the Jesuit missions that lay east of the divide of the Sierra Madre mountains in Mexico where are now the states of Durango and Coahuila. The first draft has likewise been completed of the translation of an important document concerning Jesuit mission history in Sinaloa and Sonora. It is a reply to attack and criticism on the part of certain enemies of the missions, and is dated 1657. It is the plan that this material will ultimately make part of the projected Bolton series of publications on Jesuit mission history of northern Mexico.

Documents: *S. Clarae Benedictionis textus Neerlandici* (David de Kok, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, July-October); *Aegidii Romani Impugnatio doctrinae Petri Ioannis Olivi an. 1311-12* (Leo Amorós, *ibid.*); *De Provincia Bohemiae a Fr. Francisco Licheto, Ministro Generali, visitata atque de huius obitu* (Clemens Minarik, O. F. M., *ibid.*); *Relatio de Ministro Generali Francisco Licheto Capitulum provinciale Cracoviae celebrante, 21-25 Augusti 1520* (Michael Bihl, *ibid.*); Some Newly Discovered Marquette and La Salle Letters (Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, July-December); *El P. Juan Bautista Eliano: un documento autobiográfico inédito* (José C. Sola, S. J., *ibid.*); *Lettres de l'Abbé Grégoire* (Henri Cosson, *Révolution Française*, I, n. s., no. 1); Ven. Bishop Neumann's Brother to his Parents (George Timpe, P. S. M., *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, September); Letters to Bishop Henni, continued (Peter L. Johnson, *Salesianum*, July); The Founding of the Presidio and Mission of Our Father Saint Francis, being ch. 45 of Fray Francisco Palou's Life of the Venerable Padre Frey Junípero Serra,

written at the mission of San Francisco de Asia, and newly translated from the original edition of 1787 by George Ezra Dane (*California Historical Society Quarterly*, June).

Anniversaries: *25th*: St. Stanislaus Church, Arcadia, Wis.; St. Florian parish, United, Pa. (*Pittsburgh Catholic*, August 15). *50th*: St. Patrick's, Lodi, Wis.; St. Francis Xavier's, Merrill, Wis.; St. Mary's, Racine, Wis.; Mother of Consolation parish, Oregon, Wis. (*Catholic Citizen*, August 3); St. Anthony's Chapel, Ft. Atkinson, Ia. (smallest church in the world, seating but 8 persons; *Denver Register*, July 14); St. Mary's Home, Jacksonville, Fla. *75th*: St. George's, Sheboygan, Wis.; St. Nicholas' parish, Freedom, Wis.; St. John's, Deer Park, Ohio; St. Boniface's, Brunswick, Mo.; beginnings of the Catholic Church in Nevada; St. Mary's College, Calif. *100th*: Ursuline Convent, Edinburgh, Scotland; Vincentian College, Castleknock, Ireland; Stonyhurst College Church; St. Mary's of the Assumption, Waltham, Mass.; St. John's, Johnstown, Pa.; Immaculate Conception parish, Keeseville, N. Y. (*Catholic News*, July 27); St. Mary's, Warren, Ohio; St. Mary's, Loogootee, Ind. (*Indiana Catholic and Record*, August 23); St. Gabriel's, Prairie du Chien, Wis. *125th*: St. Patrick's, York, Pa. *150th*: Old St. Peter's, New York City; Holy Cross Church, Pottinger's Creek, Ky. *250th*: Convent of St. Famille, Island of Orleans, Canada.

BRIEF NOTICES

BELLOC, HILAIRE, *A Shorter History of England.* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1934, pp. 675.) This splendid volume might be called the "quintessence of Belloc" for it is best described as a practical application to a continuous history of England of those historical, political, social, and philosophical conclusions which we have come to associate with his name. Hence the volume stands or falls by the validity which we extend to those conclusions. Certainly it is an unique volume. It is a standing challenge to the typical English history not merely of the past century but of today. The mere reading of the chapter headings, the comparison of the space devoted to topics, these are sufficient to establish the fact of the challenge. For example nearly one-twelfth of the book is devoted to the "Roman Foundation," a fact which our Saxophiles ignore but which, according to Mr. Belloc, must be grasped to understand the growth of our institutions. There is no point here in attempting an analysis of the content. It is a matter of interpretation. Those who know Belloc of old will know the bases of that interpretation. Those who do not can find no better introduction to the thoroughly Catholic and intelligent approach to historical problems, the realistic grasp of political and social implications which characterise his work. This history was written primarily as a textbook and as such it should replace every other, but it is perhaps even more interesting to the general reader. While there are a few points to which exception might be taken, the volume can be wholeheartedly commended. It may not be the best book which Mr. Belloc has written but it certainly is the most valuable. (ANSELM M. TOWNSEND, O. P.)

BENNS, F. L., *Europe since 1914.* (New York, F. S. Crofts & Co., 1934, pp. xiv, 862, $3.50.) The success of this vade-mecum is indicated by its revised editions since its appearance in 1930. It is a clearly written presentation of the profound developments during the last twenty years of the political, social and economic life of Europe. In this revised edition, the scope of the book has been expanded; it now includes besides Europe the Near, Middle and Far East, and the story which stopped with the year 1929 now ends with 1933. The author, treating of such complex subjects as Reparation and War Debts, the League of Nations, the Soviet Regime, the Roman Question, in the small compass of his text, must necessarily be sketchy at times, and in the process of simplification certain factors are of necessity omitted or somewhat involuntarily distorted. The book, however, should be a good starting point for the study of recent events. In the bibliography, sixty pages, each book is annotated and sometimes evaluated. (J. DELANGLEZ, S. J.)

BENSON, JOACHIM V., M. S. SS. T., *The Judgments of Father Judge.* (New York, P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1934, pp. 128.) The author of this interpretation of Father Judge has builded better than he knew. Here we have a clear portrayal of the life of a real priest, an ardent follower of his Divine Master. Catholic Action, the last, and in many ways the greatest, of the desires of

the present pope, has yet to have a better advocate than is given by the author in this biography of the founder of the Missionary Sisters of the Most Blessed Trinity and the Missionary Fathers of the Most Holy Trinity. The seven chapters of this inspiring and instructive work will do much to quicken the zeal of its readers. (L. L. McVAY.)

BENZ, ERNST, *Ecclesia Spiritualis.* (Stuttgart, Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1934, pp. xv, 481.) This is a very elaborate study of the character of Franciscan spiritualism that flourished during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and of the influence of this movement on intellectual and social developments during the following centuries. To judge from a statement in the Introduction, the author regards the Franciscan movement, which he terms "the Franciscan Church—die Franziskanerkirche," as an entity distinct and apart from what he styles "the Papal Church—die Papstkirche," and declares that the former "succumbed to the opposition" of the latter. On these wholly untenable premises the author bases his equally untenable theories regarding St. Francis and the Franciscan movement. The points to be remembered are that the so-called "Spiritual" movement, which was guided and indoctrinated by Olivi, degenerated into open heresy; that as such it departed essentially from the path of orthodoxy traced by St. Francis, *i. e.*, loyalty and submission to the Church founded by Christ; and that in consequence the "Spiritual" movement forfeited its right to be designated as Franciscan. (F. B. S.)

BLASIO, JOSE LUIS, *Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico: Memoirs of His Private Secretary.* Translated from the original Spanish and edited by Robert Hammond Murray. Foreword by Carleton Beals. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1934, pp. xx, 235, $3.00.) This volume, sometimes called the best first-hand account of the intimate life of Emperor Maximilian, is in its present form a contribution to the general literature surrounding Napoleon's scheme for a French-supported empire in Mexico. It is a rare book and Mr. Murray's translation is the first made from the Spanish into any other language. As Blasio accompanied Maximilian almost every minute of the time from the Emperor's arrival in Mexico in 1864 until he was sent with the Empress Charlotte to Europe in 1866, his version of the rise and fall of the Empire is indispensable to historians of the period. This secretary saw madness overcome the Empress and he was back in Mexico when Maximilian fell before the Juaristas' firing squad in June, 1867. Blasio's memoirs did not appear in book form until 1905 and he himself died near Mexico City in 1923. Students of Mexican history owe a debt of thanks to Mr. Murray and Yale University for making available this important contribution to the story of Maximilian's empire. The reviewer, however, believes that the foreword by Mr. Carleton Beals fails of that scholarly and objective tone which should distinguish any volume which comes from the press of one of our greatest universities. Mr. Beals reveals his usual lack of understanding where the Catholic Church is concerned when he writes (p. x): "An enlightened Catholic, he [Maximilian] was horrified at the narrow bigotry and greed of Archbishop Labastida and other Mexican prelates." There is no mention of

Maximilian's "liberalism" or Masonic affiliations which would put a different aspect on his "enlightened" Catholicism. A reference (p. xv) to "the fat Archbishop Labastida" is petty, even for Beals, and gives further point to the observation that a more impartial student of Mexican history should have been asked to write the foreword to what is an excellent job of translating and editing on the part of Mr. Murray. (PAUL V. MURRAY.)

BRODRICK, J., S. J., *The Economic Morals of the Jesuits.* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. 158, $2.25.) Dr. H. M. Robertson in his *Rise of Economic Individualism* (Cambridge Studies in Economic History, 1933) challenged the widely-accepted view of Weber and his school that Protestantism, particularly its Puritan form, was the basic religious vehicle of modern capitalism, and undertook to shift the onus to the Jesuits. Dr. Robertson's work may seem all of a piece with recent other attempts at the rehabilitation of Puritanism's tattered garment, but Fr. Brodrick limits his reply to the imputations regarding the Jesuits. First he points out that even if they had fallen to such ethical excuse-making for cut-throat business methods, the fact would still remain that their influence was then nil in the countries of early modern capitalism. Then he traces the lineage of the charge back to Gallican and Jansenist libels. By abundant citation of the first-hand sources and their circumstances he reduces Dr. Robertson's second-hand sources to their lowest terms—the Arnaulds—for even Pascal depended on an Arnauld and on unfair selections from Escobar. He cites such great Jesuit preachers as St. Peter Canisius, who spoke out so clearly and persistently against bankers' and merchants' shady dealings that he was forced from the Fugger stronghold of Augsburg. Fr. Brodrick's valedictory is apt: "As everybody knows, until quite recently it used to be a favorite Protestant objection against the Catholic Church that the countries under her influence had the poorest trade returns. But, of course, laissez-faire and capitalism were in honor then, whereas now their glory has departed" (pp. 152-3). (MAJOR L. J. YOUNCE.)

CANFIELD, DELOS L., *Spanish Literature in Mexican Languages as a Source for the Study of Spanish Pronunciation.* (New York, Instituto de Las Españas, 1934, pp. 257.) Besides being a valuable contribution to Spanish orthography and pronunciation, this volume contains also, as indicated in the preface, "bio-bibliographical notes on the Spanish literature in the Mexican languages." This takes up Part I of the volume and is preliminary to Part II in which Dr. Canfield seeks to trace what changes the Spanish language underwent in matters of pronunciation. It is highly technical and presents some interesting conclusions. In Part I, dealing with "Spanish Literature in Mexican Languages," the author enumerates, with title and biographical notes, the works of about sixty different writers—missionaries for the most part—these works consisting of grammars, dictionaries, and religious treatises in twenty languages of the Indians inhabiting colonial Mexico. What Dr. Canfield says regarding "The Priests and the Indian Languages" (pp. 23-35) is but another specimen of that fine scholarship which in recent years has marked the literary output of American writers on the history of Spanish rule in the New World. The more these three centuries of the colonial era are

studied by competent and impartial scholars, the more evident does it become that no European nation contributed so generously to the New World in the way of culture and civilization as Spain and that Spain, therefore, in this regard easily ranks as the greatest colonizing nation in modern times. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK.)

CARBONE, CAESARE, *Circulus Philosophicus seu Objectionum Cumulata Collectio.* (Torino, Casa Editrice Marietti, 1934, pp. viii, 530.) The author has planned to write an entire course of philosophy for seminarians of which the present is the first volume. The publishers announce that the volumes on Ontology, Cosmology, and Psychology are in preparation. The Logic which has just appeared is divided into two parts, *Dialectica* and *Critica*, both presented strictly in accordance with the Scholastic method and treated in the conventional fashion. The first fifty-five pages of the volume are devoted to the description of the technique of Scholastic disputations in Latin. Professor Carbone deals adequately enough with the subject, but one may not neglect to note the absence of an index and a bibliography. Moreover, there are comparatively few references. There is nothing very distinctive about the book, nevertheless teachers of logic may find it helpful in their work. (J. J. ROLBIECKI.)

CLARK, G. N., *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714.* (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1934, pp. xix, 461.) This is the first volume to appear in the proposed *Oxford History of England.* When completed, this should be one of the most satisfactory sets of history books ever produced. Only outstanding scholars have been selected to write the fourteen volumes which will eventually comprise the undertaking. The editor of the series is G. N. Clark, the author of the first book to appear in the series. It is hoped that three additional volumes will appear during the course of the present year. If the other volumes maintain the standards set by the writer of the first volume, a definitive history of England will indeed have been written. The fourteen chapters of the volume under consideration present a wealth of material on all phases of English life from 1660 to 1714. A bibliographical essay extending over forty pages presents appraisals of the hundreds of books consulted. The essay may well be considered a model of its kind. There is also a very well-prepared index. Genealogical tables and maps are furnished generously. The sentence structure is admirable. The meaning is never obscure. A rich vocabulary and marked facility of expression, joined to an unquestioned mastery of the material, combine to make this work an outstanding contribution to the field of English history. (PAUL KINIERY.)

CLIFTON, VIOLET, *Sanctity.* (New York, Sheed & Ward, Inc., 1934, pp. 125.) The author of the brilliant *Book of Talbot*, which delighted readers and critics last winter, has given the world another labor of her love. St. Elizabeth of Hungary, who strengthened and purified her gentleness in the searing furnace of love-tested suffering, attracted this modern woman who climbed the ladder of love to God on the steps of nature in far off places. Violet Clifton meditated upon the figure of her model in the jungles of Mentawei, in the village of Nias,

and on the coral of Livoeng. She composed her book on the Island of Islay, whence passed to God the soul of her husband, Talbot Clifton, who had brought her closer to the great Giver of Life and Beauty. From her husband she learned the secrets of nature and "an insight into one of God's worlds." She has made the test of her rhythm "the seven notes of the mating blackcock," and the test of sweetness "the blossoming magnolias." This symphony of nature she has now applied to the theme of the life of St. Elizabeth. The tone picture which resulted is the love-call of a modern mystic to her medieval model. The picture is not fantastic but is the historical portrait of Elizabeth, culled from authentic chronicles and biographies, and then overlaid with an understanding conceived by sympathetic meditation. (ARTHUR J. RILEY.)

DE LAMA, MARIANUS, *S. Augustini doctrina de Gratia et Praedestinatione.* (Torino, Casa Editrice Marietti, 1934, pp. viii, 155.) This little volume consists of salient excerpts from the original Latin of Augustine's incomplete work, *Contra Julianum*, which contains the great doctor's teaching on grace and predestination, directed especially against the Pelagians. The occasion for the present edition was furnished by the work of Hermann Lange, *De Gratia—Tractatus Dogmaticus*, published in Freiburg im Breisgau in 1929. Father De Lama seeks to correct certain inaccuracies in the work of Lange. He intersperses St. Augustine's text with Latin annotations thus interpreting and elucidating it. He has provided his edition with a detailed alphabetical index which greatly facilitates the study of the text and increases the usefulness of the book. This edition should prove valuable to professors and in particular to students of dogmatic theology. They should be encouraged to study sources besides textbooks. (J. J. ROLBIECKI.)

FANFANI, AMINTORE, *Cattolicesimo e Protestantesimo nella formazione storica del capitalismo.* (Milano, Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero," 1934, pp. viii, 159.) The most recent work of Mr. Fanfani, who teaches history of economics at the Catholic University of Milan, constitutes the third volume of the Library of the Catholic Union for the Social Sciences. Among the most interesting chapters of the book are the fifth on Catholicism and Capitalism, and the seventh on Protestantism and Capitalism. The author arrives at the conclusion that Catholic ethics is anti-capitalistic, and that in general it was in opposition to the establishment of capitalism. Capitalism existed before Protestantism which unconsciously did favor the development of the capitalistic system to a limited extent. One must note that the author's conclusions are based on a careful study of sources. The work has recently been translated into English (Sheed and Ward). (J. J. R.)

FISH, CARL RUSSELL, and WILSON, HOWARD E., *History of the United States.* (New York, The American Book Company, 1934, pp. vi, 810.) This is a comprehensive text by an outstanding scholar in the field of American history assisted by a competent educator. The combination effected in the joint authorship has resulted in an excellent text. However, the volume may be criticized unfavorably by some because of the proportions allotted to the various units. This suggestion holds true for the space given to the period since the Civil War. Unfortunately, the publishers have not expended money

generously in providing live illustrations, and an abundance of black and white maps. While colored maps are all right in their way, most teachers would probably trade one colored map for three or four black and whites that showed clearly what they wished their students to learn. (P. J. F.)

FRANCHÈRE, L. C. and BOYCE, M., *L'Aurore de la Nouvelle France.* (Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Co., 1934, pp. xv, 144, 96 cents.) Fortunate indeed was the idea which prompted the editors of this book to publish, for class use, extracts of the *Jesuit Relations.* The task of editing these selections presented great difficulties; the language had to be modernized and certain idiomatic expressions had to be replaced. In general, the editors have done well. Although there are still passages which would gain by renovation without losing their original "quaint flavor," the book is greatly marred by numerous typographical errors. (PAUL A. BARRETTE.)

GAETANI, TOMASSO DE VIO, *In de Ente et Essentia D. Thomae Aquinatis Commentaria,* edited by M. H. Laurent. (Torino, Casa Editrice Marietti, 1934, pp. xvi, 260.) The secure position of Cajetan as an interpreter of Thomas Aquinas remains as firmly established as ever. The present edition of his commentary on Aquinas' important metaphysical treatise, *De Ente et Essentia,* will be welcomed by all those who are interested in the history of Thomism and Aristotelianism. The occasion for the publication of Cajetan's commentary is the fourth centenary of his death occurring in 1934. The text is that of the second edition of 1498, prepared by Cajetan himself. The present editor has written a Latin preface containing a short biography of Cajetan and also data concerning the composition of the commentary. He has also supplied a bibliography and provided the volume with two indexes which greatly enhance its utility. Father Laurent has rendered the followers of St. Thomas a valuable service in editing this document. (J. J. R.)

GATHORNE-HARDY, G. M., *A Short History of International Affairs, 1920 to 1934.* [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (London, Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. xi, 351, 7s. 6d.) The growing interest of the reading public in questions of foreign relations motivated the publication of this brief history of international affairs since the War. The domestic history of particular countries is excluded in order that the main theme of international relations may be more fully developed. The subject matter is treated in chronological order, with the post-war era divided into three periods: "The Period of Settlement, 1920-1925"; "The Period of Fulfilment, 1925-1930"; and "The Period of Crisis, 1930-1934." (J. J. M.)

GLANVILLE, JAMES LINUS, *Italy's Relations with England: 1896-1905.* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1934, pp. 170, $1.50.) This book is concerned with an important period of Italy's diplomatic history when she had one foot in the camp of the Triple Alliance and was seeking to plant the other in either England or France—in both if possible. Threads of imperialistic policy of European powers were tangled in Africa; Italy entered the tangle in the hope of drawing therefrom both territory and prestige that she might

cease to be a "negligible quantity." Her position in the Mediterranean and her own lack of naval strength dictated that she seek the friendship of the power which held the controlling influence in that sea. Such a power England was and France aspired to be. Italy sought to utilize the situation for her own interest. The relations between Italy and England at this period are explained by the writer in an erudite manner; the work, however, is lacking in the art which renders research readable. (Sister LORETTA CLARE.)

GREEN, ELMER, *The Making of Maryland.* (Baltimore, E. & M. Green, 1934, pp. x, 373.) As the author of this very attractive book says in his foreword, history as a subject of study has often been harmed by its friends in making it an educational discipline. On his part this certainly has not been the case. He has given to the younger readers a very instructive and interesting volume on the history of Maryland. (L. L. McV.)

HASSID, E. (Tr.), *The History of the Great Chartreuse.* By a Carthusian Monk. (London, Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1934, pp. ix, 300, 12/6.) Pursuit of the perfect love of God and consequent peace of soul is what motivates earnest Christian men to quit this world in mind and spirit, and bury themselves in the cloister, removed, as far as may be, from all mundane affairs. It was no pusillanimous horror of difficulties that drove Bruno into solitude in the Desert of Chartreuse. Even while his soul sought peace he remained in the combat with the forces of wickedness; but when the battle seemed to be won, and the world, perceiving his vigor of mind and nobility of heart, offered him honors, he forthwith fled. Though founder of a great Order of men—may we not say the loftiest ever nurtured in the bosom of Holy Church?—he wrote nothing, yet by his example and his teaching he conceived in his own person the living Carthusian ideal, to be subsequently crystalized in the Customs and Statutes, so wisely devised and so firmly enforced as to support the claim: *Cartusia nunquam reformata quia nunquam deformata.* This history presents a very readable narrative of the Carthusian ideal, preserved through a long succession of adversities, illustrating the truth that man's reach in this world is beyond his grasp. The very reaching out to the ideal and the failure of perfect achievement is the process of man's purification. Yearning love (*amor esuriens*) is the necessary preparation of the love of full possession and perfect joy (*amor fruens*), which constitutes the bliss of heaven.

The book offers a pleasant blend of history and piety. The account of the expulsion "*manu militari*" after the sturdy resistance of the monks in 1903 makes dramatic reading; and many will be curious to read the appendix on the "secret" of the famous liqueur. The translation is smooth, though not without a few Gallicisms. (Dom BENEDICT BROSNAHAN, O. S. B.)

HIRSCHENAUER, Dr. P. FULGENTIUS (RUPERT), O. S. B., *Die Stellung des heiligen Thomas von Aquin im Mendikantenstreit an der Universität Paris.* (St. Ottilien, Oberbayern, Missionsverlag, 1934, pp. xv, 157.) The "strife" referred to in the title of this doctoral dissertation is the defense put up by the great religious Orders in answer to the attacks against the new monastic ideals originated by the sons of St. Francis and St. Dominic. The battle of

ideas began with the introduction of Aristotle's works in the curriculum of the University of Paris. There were two parties, those in favor and those against the stagirite. The rift between the faculty of arts and that of theology culminated in the revolt of 1218-1220. Franciscans and Dominicans were then studying at the university and during the professorial and student strike, members of both Orders were given a chair in the faculty of theology. As is well known, the Dominicans, especially St. Albert the Great and St. Thomas, threw their lot with Aristotelianism and made it triumph. Their opponents attacked the Dominicans as holding "modern" ideas, as being revolutionaries, radicals, reds. This was one phase of the strife; another phase treated in this monograph is much more important. It deals with a question of principles, and can be said to be the turning point in the history of monastic ideals. The traditional monastic ideal had been the *vita contemplativa*. Now, to the great scandal of the "conservatives," monks, or men pretending to be monks, were leaving their cells, were taking the whole world as their apostolic field, were throwing themselves heart and soul into the battle, were preparing themselves for the battle by studying, not rhetorical oratory, as had been the custom thus far, but troublesome fundamental questions of philosophy and theology, and were making use of the solutions reached in their defense of the Faith. This appeared to the opponents of the mendicant Orders in evident contradiction with their state of life. Led by William of St. Amour, they branded as "heretics," "precursors of Antichrist," Dominicans and Franciscans alike, and but for the protection of the pope, it is doubtful whether the *novatores* would have won their fight then. In 1255, the dispute reached a higher plane, for the very foundations of the ideals of the recently founded Orders were being attacked: care of souls and teaching. The champion of the Franciscans was St. Bonaventure, that of the Dominicans, St. Thomas Aquinas. St. Thomas answered the accusations launched against his brethren with the tract *Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem*. This answer goes far beyond the limits of a mere rebuttal; it gives a fundamental solution to the question which had been discussed for a quarter of a century. In the second period, 1266-1272, the troublesome question of the state of perfection was to be solved. Was the state of a bishop, for instance, more perfect than that of a member of the mendicant Order? As this involved the question of monastic poverty, St. Bonaventure answered with his *Apologia pauperum*, which has become the classic work of his Order. St. Thomas' formal answer is found mainly in the *Prima* and in the *Secunda Secundae*. Father Hirschenauer shows, by selecting the passages from these two parts of the *Summa*, how St. Thomas developed his answer. First, what life is, then the essence of active and contemplative life, followed by a comparison of the two. It is indubitable that taken *in se*, contemplative life is more perfect than mere active life, but a *tertium genus vivendi* is introduced, a mixture of both contemplative and active, which St. Thomas calls *vita mixta*. Contemplation, that is, *Hingabe an Gott*, becomes fuller through action, but the relation of dependence between these two forms of life is not one-sided, for the fullness of active life is also dependent on contemplative life. But the *vita mixta*, concludes St. Thomas, is the most perfect of the three. Such a mixture of contemplative and active life was

chosen by Christ, and the Apostles obeying Christ's commands had led a *vita mixta*. This life preëminently becomes bishops and all those who have the care of souls; it should also be that of the mendicant orders, for the life of the monk is that of one striving after perfection. To the objection that the religious could not care for souls, St. Thomas answers that of themselves the religious Orders do not claim jurisdiction, but that if a monk has received the consecration and the proper jurisdiction from the ecclesiastical authorities, there is nothing that prevents him from exercising this jurisdiction. St. Gregory the Great was a monk, and he sent monks to evangelize England. It is difficult in the small compass of a review to do justice to this doctoral dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the University of Munich; its pages teem with ideas. Some of these ideas appeared new in the thirteenth century, because they had been forgotten or lost sight of. This is specially true of the *vita mixta*, for St. Augustine, St. Anselm and above all St. Gregory the Great had outlined and advocated it centuries before St. Thomas had to re-state its principles. (J. DELANGLEZ, S. J.)

HOLLIS, CHRISTOPHER, *The Breakdown of Money: an Historical Explanation.* (New York, Sheed and Ward, Inc., 1934, pp. xxiii, 232, $1.50.) Mr. Hollis approaches his problem as an historian rather than an economist and for this reason is able to step lightly over difficulties that would cause a great deal of trouble to a money theorist. He has primarily in mind the money problems of Great Britain. "Today it is admitted that the troubles of this country and of the world come from a shortage of money. The problem of the day is to get more money into circulation" (p. 76). Perhaps the money supply should be multiplied by two, or perhaps by some other figure. Under the present system "the only way to cure a slump would seem to be to arrange a programme of large coördinated lending—to lend simultaneously to every sort of producer." But the author can think of a better system. "The best plan is the simplest. Increase purchasing power by giving people money." But he would not give all of the new money to the consumers for that would throw production out of balance. Orthodox economists are likely to believe that increasing the money supply on such a large scale would result in dangerous inflation but Mr. Hollis considers such fears not well founded. "Indeed once the country has become protectionist the government has complete control of the prices on the domestic market." This reference to protection reminds us that the author is a good deal of a nationalist. He would not, for example, allow English capital to go abroad to produce things to compete with British manufacturers at home. In the chapter on the "American Slump" he says, "We are told that the depression has taught the Americans that they cannot hope to sell abroad unless they are willing to buy from abroad. But why should they wish to sell abroad if they can produce for themselves almost everything that they either need or want?"

The book reads easily. You are half-way through the next paragraph before you have fully decided whether the last one was convincing. In the chapter on the German mark, figures are presented showing the German exports and imports for the year 1913. The showing is wittily rounded out with the statement, "That is to say, her balance of trade was what economists would

call favourable and what anybody else would call unfavourable." As a matter of fact the figures given would be interpreted by the economists as technically an unfavorable balance of trade. But probably the author did not intend to misrepresent. (FRANK O'HARA.)

LEE, DWIGHT E., *Great Britain and the Cyprus Convention Policy of 1878.* [Harvard Historical Studies, Vol. XXXVIII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. x, 230.) Professor Lee has made an investigation of the foreign policy of the Conservative party in power in England at the time, in so far as it was concerned with the Turkish problem. The reasons why England was so disturbed at the threatening attitude maintained by Russia, by the events of the Russian-Turkish War, and by the San Stefano Treaty are dealt with in detail. The protestations which England lodged against the settlement of San Stefano led to the Cyprus Convention of 1878, by the terms of which England was granted practically complete control over the island of Cyprus. The Berlin Conference of 1878 was to give approval to this arrangement between England and Turkey. The Conservative Party, under the domination of Disraeli, was of the opinion that the control of Cyprus would in turn make it possible for the English to dominate the eastern end of the Mediterranean, Asia Minor, the Euphrates Valley, and the overland as well as the sea route to India. The control thereby secured would complement the security which England had obtained by purchasing in 1875 the shares in the Suez Canal. It was the culmination of a plan which had been considered by some Englishmen for many years. The wrath of the French upon learning that England had secured additional influence in the eastern end of the Mediterranean is made evident. The French had been irritated by the influence which England already exerted over the Mediterranean by her possession of Gibraltar and Malta, and the prospect of still more control did not please the French. Had it not been for the fact that the French Chamber was not in session at the time the convention was announced, several observers stated that war would perhaps have been declared against England by France. The importance of the convention is revealed by such an attitude. The satisfaction experienced by the Conservatives over the convention was not echoed by all organs of English opinion. One enraged observer referred to the acquisition of Cyprus by writing to this effect: "An island, two hundred miles long, ravaged by famine, a nest of malaria, with a fatal fever of which it enjoys a monopoly, without harbors, and possessed of a growing population of lepers, is held by Englishmen adequate consideration for an obligation to spend scores or hundreds of millions in defending an empire which either cannot or will not defend itself" (p. 118). The Conservatives stoutly maintained, however, that the acquisition of Cyprus would make it possible for English capital to construct a railway in the Euphrates Valley, and that this in turn would make it possible for the English to develop the natural resources of Asia Minor. Some enthusiastic advocates of the project saw in it the means of subjugating the lawless tribes of central Asia Minor, and eventually bringing the Asiatic provinces of the Turkish Empire under a British protectorate.

The author then makes clear that such a railway would have been a losing venture for many years, and that this sobering thought deprived many Conservatives of their imperialism. The reasons for the growing suspicion of the Turkish Empire concerning the motives of the British Empire are examined. The Turks were unwilling to make the reforms which the English demanded, and in addition to that fact, the Turkish Empire was constantly on the verge of bankruptcy. The author treats very satisfactorily the factors which brought about a growing coolness between the English and the Turks. He makes it clear that the Turks made efforts to play off one European government against another. The fear that the Turks had entertained of the Russians was gradually supplanted by a similar fear entertained of the English. With the downfall of the Conservative party in 1880, the efforts that had been made after the Cyprus Convention to extend British control over Asia Minor were abandoned. A valuable appendix of forty pages is a part of the volume, as is also a rather complete list of books related to the subject. A well-prepared index makes the book valuable for ready reference purposes, when dealing with the problems of the Near East during that period. (PAUL KINIERY.)

LIEN, ARNOLD J., and FAINSOD, MERLE, *The American People and Their Government.* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1934, pp. xiv, 629.) This work professes to be aimed at "The satisfaction of the needs of the mass of educated citizens rather than those of the specialist in law or the expert in administration." The first innovation in this book is Part One, "The Population." It appears that in place of so many legal "facts" the student is to be swamped by still more subjectively "interpretable" sociological data. The tone of the work is rather un-Catholic: the picture of the immigrant Irish is hardly complimentary (p. 14); eugenic limitation of population appears advocated (p. 36); the treatment of medieval political conditions is the usual one (p. 356). The citizen's stake in the government is taken up after national, state, and local government—rather putting the cart before the horse. Treatment of both law and politics is still not realistic in these texts, as in the attempt to distinguish between a "boss" and "leader." Notable are the chapters on Occupations and Income and on International Conflict and Peace. (MAJOR L. J. YOUNCE.)

LOCKWOOD, FRANK C., University of Arizona, *Story of the Spanish Missions of the Middle Southwest: Being a Complete Survey of the Missions founded by Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino in the Seventeenth Century and later enlarged and beautified by the Franciscan Fathers during the last part of the Eighteenth Century.* (Santa Ana, California, The Fine Arts Press, 1934, pp. vi, 78.) The story of the Spanish missions in Pimeria Alta (Arizona and Sonora) and especially the work of Fr. Kino, long neglected till Dr. Bolton published *Kino's Historical Memoirs of Pimeria Alta,* is here graphically presented in what is essentially a guide book of the territory covered and the missions founded by the "Padre on Horseback." Bolton's studies, Fr. Engelhardt's *The Franciscans in Arizona,* and the author's *Pioneer Days in Arizona* and *With Padre Kino on the Trail* have brought to the work of Kino

and his Jesuit and Franciscan successors the recognition and publicity they so richly deserve. In this volume one follows the author on a tour of the twenty-five posts at which Fr. Kino established missions. There is doubt whether mission buildings were ever erected at two of these places—El Tupo and Aquimuri—but on all but three of the sites the author found churches or ruins. The text carries a description of the country, the special sites, directions for reaching, hints for traveling equipment, and an historical account of the founding, prosperity, and decline of the several missions. A fine map and thirty-six illustrations, most of them photographs of the missions as they are today, greatly enhance the value of the book. Following the trail and trials of the great missioner-explorer one thrills again to the zeal and perseverance that wrought so much good. But a contemplation of the ruin that has descended upon those missions emphasizes the tragedy of all that labor lost because of the indifference and hostility of secular authorities. We compliment the author for vivifying a glorious work which if but given mild encouragement would have left results much more significant socially than noble ruins in a desert. (P. RAYMOND NIELSON.)

MAGOFFIN, RALPH V. D., and DUNCALF, FREDERICK, *Ancient and Medieval History.* (Newark, N. J., Silver, Burdett and Company, 1934, pp. xviii, 860, xvi.) The field covered by this text extends from the earliest beginnings of civilization to the emergence of the modern period. A rapid thumbing of the book leaves the examiner under the impression that almost every boldface heading begins with "How"; "how" this happened and "how" that. A more careful examination continues the "hows" in their much too prominent typographical position. Except for this feature the text is eminently readable and generally interesting. Some, however, will wish that certain facts concerning the early Church had been treated with greater clarity, for instance St. Peter is omitted from the discussion of the foundation of the Church as found on p. 390; the statement concerning the place of the "Bible" in the early Church (p. 391) invites misunderstanding, while the discussion of Arianism (p. 394) will probably be found largely without point by the young high-school pupils who will use this book. The illustrations are unusually excellent; many of them have been taken from original manuscripts; others are pictures of architectural monuments or details that have historic value. Occasionally a more painstakingly written legend accompanying the illustration would make for greater accuracy. For instance the belfry of the Giralda (p. 446) is not Moorish. The illustrations together with the distinguished scholarship and engaging style of the authors have contributed to the production of an interesting text. (P. J. F.)

MASNOVO, AMATO, *Da Guglielmo D'Auvergne a San Tomasso D'Aquino.* Vol. II. (Milano, Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero," 1934, pp. vii, 203.) The second volume of Professor Masnovo's work on William of Auvergne bears the subtitle: *L'Origine delle cose da Dio in Guglielmo D'Auvergne.* We find that William taught that God is not only the creator, but also the artificer of the world, and that He freely created the world in time. We also find that William was a determined opponent of the doctrine of the eternity

of the world which was championed by the Arabian thinker Avicenna. The author shows that Roger Bacon was right when he wrote that the first thirty years of the thirteenth century were consumed in the battle for and against creation *ab aeterno*. The high standard of scholarship which the author has established in his first volume is maintained in the second. A third volume will complete the work. Professor Masnovo promises a detailed index for the entire work which will be appended to the last volume. (J. J. ROLBIECKI.)

MAYNARD, THEODORE, *The Connection between the Ballade, Chaucer's Modification of it, Rime Royal, and the Spenserian Stanza.* (Washington, D. C., The Catholic University of America, 1934, pp. 132.) This is a contribution to the history of English prosody which will be especially welcomed by students of Chaucer and Spenser. Although much has been written on each of these three verse forms, their nature, development, and inter-connection is here treated for the first time in one study. Doctor Maynard has pointed out that the highly intricate ballade form of the French trouvères (using, for instance, fourteen b rimes) which is familiar to readers of Villon and Austin Dobson, was taken over by Chaucer, and his modification of it, *viz.*, a seven-line stanza liberated from ballade setting, gave rise to the rime royal, the chief glory of Chaucer's inventive genius. Spenser, following the "footing" of his avowed master, Chaucer, developed his stanza from the rime royal aided by the tendencies long felt in English poetry. This, in *nuce*, is the conclusion of this careful, well-documented treatise by one who himself a poet, speaks with confidence and understanding, quite apart from mere theorizing. The preliminary survey of medieval Latin, Old French, and Anglo-Saxon verse is useful, but it does not add materially to the main thesis which Doctor Maynard proves as far as it can be done, and better than it has ever been done before. (J. B. COLLINS, S. S.)

MCGUCKEN, WILLIAM J., S. J., Ph. D., *The Catholic Way in Education.* (Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Co., 1934, pp. xvii, 131.) In the author's foreword we learn that the main purpose of this volume is to present the Catholic way of education to the Catholic laity and especially to "mothers and fathers who are really educating the youth of the country." Unfortunately, the author's zeal and devotion to his purpose led him strangely into presenting for the most part a polemic against the philosophy of education basic to the public school system. This pedagogical device of teaching by negation, of presenting facts, however worthy of condemnation, in too strong a solvent of the disagreeable becomes an obstacle and hindrance to the reader's concentration of attention on the one thing necessary—namely, the grasping of the chief factors in the "Catholic Way of Education." (L. L. McV.)

MEYER, O. S. M., A. M., *Advanced Mariology.* (Portland, Oregon, Sanctuary of Our Sorrowful Mother, 1934, pp. xii, 168.) This very recent addition to the ever growing library of Marian theology does a very good work in bringing to the fore the teaching of the pontiffs on Our Lady. Unfortunately it does little else. The book reads like a clumsy translation, adds nothing to the theologian's knowledge of the subject and is too hopelessly

entangled in a difficult terminology to be of any use to the layman. (R. W. FARRELL, O. P.)

NERVAL, GASTON, *Autopsy of the Monroe Doctrine: The Strange Story of Inter-American Relations.* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. xi, 357, $3.50.) This is probably the most comprehensive attack upon the Monroe Doctrine ever published in English. The author, a Latin American diplomat and journalist whose real name is not Nerval, indicts the Doctrine upon ten counts. Six of these "counts" are levelled against the "original" Monroe Doctrine, and are as follows: it was not intended for the benefit of the Latin American states; its results and merits have been exaggerated; it is worn-out and useless; it is unilateral and egoistic; it arrested the development of true Pan-Americanism; and it has been violated and disregarded numerous times, occasionally with the knowledge and connivance of the United States. The final four charges are directed against the "modern" Monroe Doctrine, the result of interpretation and expansion of the original concept. The author charges that it has been distorted "to serve as an instrument of the hegemony of the United States in the Western Hemisphere" (p. 5); that it has been made to serve as a cloak for U. S. intervention in Latin America; that it has been misused as the tool of American imperialism in the Caribbean; and that it is today obsolete because it is in conflict with post-war peace machinery. This very capable presentation of a frankly partisan criticism of the Monroe Doctrine concludes with a suggestion that for it be substituted a "Pan-American Doctrine of Joint Responsibility." (JOHN J. MENG.)

O'ROURKE, WILLIAM T., *Library Handbook for Catholic Students.* (Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Company, 1935, pp. 184.) The author, assistant-librarian at Holy Cross College (Worcester, Mass.), has prepared this guide to facilitate the library research of the Catholic student and to acquaint him with the standard reference works in all fields of knowledge. Eight chapters cover the following subjects: The Student, his Books and the Library; The Card Catalogue; Classification; General Reference Works; Periodical Indexes; Special Reference Works; Pamphlets and Clippings; and Bibliography. Four appendices give lists of Catholic reference works in foreign languages, some Catholic texts and allied books in philosophy, sociology, and the classics. This little volume will furnish a good working-manual for those who are following courses in library science. The weakest section is that devoted to American Catholic history. (P. G.)

SCHMITT, BERNADOTTE E., *Triple Alliance and Triple Entente.* [Berkshire Studies in European History.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1934, pp. viii, 131, $1.00.) Professor Schmitt has enclosed in the pages of this small volume a concise and unusually clear exposition of the two systems of European alliances precedent to the World War. His narrative is considerably enhanced by the inclusion of a diagram depicting graphically the interrelationships of the alliances, and an appendix demonstrating the magnitude and development of the general pre-war armaments race. A satisfactory bibliography accompanies the study. (J. J. M.)

STEWART, ALEXANDER MCGINN, *René Menard, 1605-1661.* (Rochester, N. Y., Heindl Print, 1934, pp. 76.) In this little volume, artistically designed, the author publishes a series of articles which he wrote for the *Catholic Courier* of Rochester and other newspapers, in which he relates the missionary career of Father Ménard in New France. The story is in large measure descriptive, though after each chapter the author lists the sources upon which he based the story. He is careful to explain—a thing writers usually neglect—that the Recollects were Franciscans (p. 19). He says nothing, however, regarding their activity (1615-1625) among the Hurons; which activity would account for the fact that soon after, with the return of the Jesuits to Canada in 1632, "missions began to flourish among the Hurons" (p. 20). Since he mentions the Jesuit Father Brébeuf, one should expect he would mention also the Franciscan Le Caron and others who were among the Hurons long before Brébeuf got there. (F. B. S.)

TENBÖRG, ERWIN, *Die Messtipendien nach dem Codex Iuris Canonici.* [Görres-Gesellschaft, Veröffentlichungen der Sektion für Rechts- und Staatswissenschaft, 66. Heft.]. (Paderborn, Ferdinand Schöningh, 1934, pp. 199.) The first part of this monograph unfolds the development of Mass stipends from the general offerings of bread and wine for the Holy Sacrifice to their present form (pp. 13-39). In the second part it presents the teaching of the Church concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass and the application of its fruits (pp. 40-56). From the canons themselves the third part develops the doctrinal as well as the juridic basis for stipends, and explains their various kinds and the obligations arising from them (pp. 57-148). In the last section the care and vigilance which the Church exercises to see that all obligations arising from the acceptance of stipends are faithfully fulfilled are explained as are also the penalties she inflicts on all who violate those regulations (pp. 149-199). These two latter sections are a clear commentary on the prevailing law concerning Mass stipends, which is based in part on the former legislation and in part upon the several more recent papal pronouncements as well as upon the authority of canonists. Its usefulness suffers for lack of an alphabetical index. (VALENTINE T. SCHAAF, O. F. M.)

THOMPSON, EDWARD, and GARRAT, G. T., *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India.* (London, Macmillan & Co., 1934, pp. 690, $7.50.) This work has been written by two Englishmen of wide experience—Mr. Thompson was once a missionary and engaged in educational work in India, and Mr. Garrat was a member of the Indian Civil Service. Their motive in writing this work is stated as follows: "The moral and social prestige lost to the West by the War can never be recovered, but there is no reason why a far healthier relationship should not develop, and the great sub-continent of India form a part of a noble comity of nations within the British Commonwealth. It is in this belief that this book has been written" (p. 655). Therefore the authors feel that the real fulfilment of British Rule in India is to make India a permanent partner of the British Commonwealth of Nations. But they realise that the spirit of the present legislation, resultant of the Round Table Conference may not rouse special confidence among the people of India. The authors are

critical of Mahatma Gandhi and the leaders of the All India Congress movement and against movements for Indian independence. But a student of Indian history cannot remain satisfied with this view. To get an adequate idea of the situation in India and the spirit of the Indian Nationalist movement, one should read the book *India in Bondage and Her Right to Freedom* by Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland. In many ways the work is of great value to students of Indian history, because the authors have tried to give a concise but authoritative account of Indian history from the days of the foundation of the East India Company up to the present time. This has been attempted by presenting important historical facts from 1599 to 1934 in seven periods. In Book I, the authors cover the period of 1599 to 1740 and discuss such topics as the foundation of the East India Company, era of Portuguese and Dutch rivalry, the period of consolidation of the power of East India Company, 1660-1710, and the dissolution of the Indian political system from internal weakness. In the second section of the work the authors give an account of Anglo-French rivalry in India and the rise of British power in India. Then the authors continue their study of British expansion and annexation of territories of Indian princes in three successive sections and discuss the Sepoy Mutiny which was caused by the British policy of annexation, ruthlessly carried out by Lord Dalhousie. Those who have read Edward Thompson's *The Other Side of the Medal*, an account of the Sepoy Mutiny and of British ruthlessness during the Sepoy Mutiny, will find the chapters dealing with the subject have been "whitewashed." After the Sepoy Mutiny the rule of East India Company was supplanted by a government directly responsible to the British Parliament. The authors have presented British liberal points of view regarding the British rule in India and the evolution of Indian Nationalism as an inevitable result of the influence of western civilization and culture over the people of India. The authors feel that the British Imperialists who refuse to recognize Indian rights and the Indian nationalists who are determined to free their country from British rule are following mistaken policies. They should solve the question of Indo-British relations with the spirit of co-operation. One may not agree with all the interpretations of events connected with Indian history, as given by the authors; but the book is a valuable addition to studies on Indian history from the view points of two British authorities who do not wish separation of India from the British Empire but at the same time realise that Britain will lose India, unless the Indian people are won over to the creed of "India an equal partner with the other self-governing dominions of the British Commonwealth." (TARAKNATH DAS.)

WELLMAN, PAUL I., *Death on the Prairie: The Thirty Years' Struggle for the Western Plains*. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. 298, $3.00.) The author of this book has long made a study of the history of the Indian of the western plains. His work is a popular portrayal of the thirty-year struggle between the white man and the Indian for the western plains from the time of the Sioux Rebellion of 1862 in Minnesota to the war of the Messiah in 1891. This struggle is told in a series of ten episodes, each

centered about one or two famous Indian characters, but all quite compactly hung together by the sequence of chronology or of cause and effect. Each episode is graphically and vividly portrayed. The author shows his ability as a newspaper man to pick out the most dramatic incidents and paint them in short, decisive strokes. His book is the delightful reading of popularized history vividly sketched; nevertheless, the account is authentic, well documented, and the author weighs his statements. This compact series of sketches includes Little Crow's massacre in Minnesota, Red Cloud's leadership in the Sioux attack at Ft. Phil Kearney, Black Kettle's stand at Washita, Satanta's responsibility for the Kiowa and Comanche outbreak in 1874, a sketch of brave Crazy Horse and the revolt of 1876 against the white man on the Rosebud, a description of Sitting Bull at Little Big Horn, an introduction to the strategist Joseph of the Nez Percés and his bravery at Bear Paw Mountain, an account of Black Horse and the Comanche feud with the buffalo hunters in the Texas Panhandle, a picture of Ouray and the attack on the miners of Colorado, and the final Indian struggle under the influence of the Messiah. Some of these sketches have been depicted for us over and over again by various writers but usually as separate wars or isolated events. This book tends to give the reader a panoramic view of the whole and shows these apparently sporadic uprisings to be but various phases of one long struggle. Mr. Wellman has in this book pointed out the bravery and heroism of the Indian. In places he pictures the Indian as more noble than his white adversary. He undertakes to do what no white man would have attempted fifty years ago: to justify the Indians' animosity toward the white man, and to excuse their barbarous attacks. He leaves with us the conviction that the Indians were goaded into fury through the white man's treachery, that they were pushed to madness by the faithlessness of the white intruder, and that under normal conditions the Indians were men to be respected. (Sister GRACE MCDONALD, O. S. B.)

WESSELS, C., S. J., *Histoire de la Mission d'Amboine, 1546-1605.* Traduit du neerlandais par J. Roebroek, S. J. (Louvain, Museum Lessianum, 1934, pp. 238.) Amboina or Ambon is one of the southernmost islands of the Molucca group. The mission begun by St. Francis Xavier was entrusted to the Jesuit Fathers of the Portuguese Province, Portugal then ruling the Moluccas. Father Wessels gives a detailed history of this mission. The population of the island was torn by internal dissensions and by continual bloody feuds between the pagan and Mohammedan inhabitants. But in spite of these obstacles to the work of evangelization and in spite of the small number of missionaries the Portuguese province could send, substantial progress was being made in the conversion of the pagan natives. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch came. The admiral of the fleet had promised freedom of conscience to Catholics after he had taken possession of Amboina, but the Protestant governor he appointed to rule over the island, under the pretext of lack of provisions, and because, he claimed, the natives treated the Dutch less respectfully than the Portuguese officials who still remained, ordered that all the Portuguese, men, women and children, and, naturally, the two Jesuits there at the time, be packed on a small ves-

sel with neither captain nor pilots, and expelled from Amboina. Thus set adrift, with no one on board having the slightest notion of navigation, the vessel, *mirabile creditu*, reached Mindanao thirty-nine days later. After this expulsion, all signs of Catholicism were zealously blotted out; for three centuries no Catholic missionary was allowed to land in Amboina. Yet, in 1835, more than two hundred years after the departure of the Jesuits, a Dutch official found that the population was still clinging to Roman Catholic ideas; and in 1916, the director of a Protestant school in the island was led to assert that "there still existed a remnant of Catholic leaven." The realism of the apostolic work of these days, its consolations as well as its deceptions and discouragement are clearly set forth in these pages. Based on primary sources, the author lets the documents, letters, and reports of the missionaries speak for themselves. At the end is found a list of all the Jesuits who went to Amboina or to the Moluccas. Two detailed maps enable the reader to locate the mission posts where the Jesuits labored. (J. DELANGLEZ, S. J.)

WYLLYS, RUFUS KAY, *Pioneer Padre*. (Dallas, The Southwest Press, 1935, pp. xi, 230, $3.00.) *Pioneer Padre* has for sub-title: *The Life and Times of Eusebio Francisco Kino*. As Dr. Wyllys has been one of Herbert E. Boltons's pupils we should expect this biography to be scholarly and to rest upon the sources. The expectation is for the most part fulfilled. The author tells the story of Kino from his birth in northern Italy in 1645 to his death in Pimeria Alta in 1711 and he fills in the narrative by enlightening descriptions of the frontier country in northern Mexico and of the Indian tribes. Dr. Wyllys makes clear the importance of the missions for the advance of the frontier and the ambitions of Kino and his fellow Jesuits to advance to Alta California. An "aftermath" narrates the fate of the missions after Kino's death and speaks of the energetic men who followed in Kino's wake until they were removed by royal order to be replaced by the equally energetic and equally devoted Franciscan Fathers.

There are places where Dr. Wyllys slips into inaccuracies of presentation that greater maturity in the more general field would have avoided. The assertion (page 11) that when Kino joined the Jesuits the "cordial hatred" against them on the part of their rivals was partly due to their "arrogant conduct" is a generalization due to the impression left in history by eighteenth-century inimical propaganda. The author corrects his own error later (page 200) when he writes of the meekness with which the Mexican Jesuits submitted in 1767 to the royal order for their expulsion and exile, "without a word of criticism or complaint." That one motive for the Jesuits' desire to advance to Alta California was to cut off the Franciscan advance west from Santa Fe (*ibid.*) is an assertion the author did not find in the sources.

A number of smaller inaccuracies occur. For instance, the *Casa Profesa* (page 25) is called a place where novices were trained, whereas the novitiate since 1606 was at Tepotzotlán. The date 1560 (page 69) should read 1660, for there were no cattlemen with their herds on Mayo and Yaqui before 1560. Joseph McCabe's *Candid History of the Jesuits* should never be listed in

bibliographies unless with a warning note as to its evidently malicious misrepresentation.

Finally, however, *Pioneer Padre* is readable and instructive. In the literature of the North American Southwest it will hold a place, of diminishing importance however, after the appearance of Bolton's forthcoming masterful biography of Father Kino. (PETER M. DUNNE, S. J.)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

The Relations of History, Geography, and Art. Peter Brieger (*History*, June).
The Religion of Liberty. Edward Falkner (*Quarterly Review*, July).
The Dynamic Interpretation of History. R. F. Nichols (*New England Quarterly*, June).
Mission Aid Societies. Raymond Corrigan, S. J. (*Thought*, September).
Early Orphism and Kindred Religious Movements. M. P. Nilsson (*Harvard Theological Review*, July).
The Christian Attitude to Pagan Literature. M. L. W. Laistner (*History*, June).
La conversion de saint Paul. Charles Guignebert (*Revue Historique*, May-June).
L'Excommunication ecclésiastique d'après les écrits de Tertullien. Clément Chartier, O. F. M. (*Antonianum*, July).
Heroes of Christianity, V. E. L. Pennington (*American Church Monthly*, September). St. Cyprian.
St. Cyprian, Bishop and Martyr. W. P. Sears, Jr. (*Holy Cross Magazine*, September).
Zur Geschichte der Päpstlichen Tiara. P. E. Schramm (*Historische Zeitschrift*, Band 152, heft 2).
Metropolitans in the Western Church. W. T. Townsend (*Church Quarterly Review*, July).
Judaism and Gentile Christianity in the Third Century. A. Marmorstein (*London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, July).
The Arian Heresy. Hilaire Belloc (*Sign*, September).
Recent Publications on Medieval and Modern Greek History, 1932-1935. William Miller (*American Historical Review*, July).
Legislation of the Medieval English Church, II. C. R. Cheney (*English Historical Review*, July).
Political Aspects of Medieval Guilds. W. E. Kerrish (*Irish Monthly*, August).
Golden Age of the Gilds. Wilkinson Sherren (*Columbia*, September).
Benedict IX and the Synod of Sutri: a Revision of History. Adrian Morey (*Downside Review*, July).
The Finances of the Avignon Popes. W. Lawson, S. J. (*Clergy Review*, June).
Erasmus and the Fine Arts. Rachel Giese (*Journal of Modern History*, September).
De Propagatione Fidei Tempore Explorationum Saeculis XV et XVI. Fredegand Callaey, O. M. Cap. (*Collectanea Franciscana*, July).
The Church in Iceland. Patrick Brand (*New Green Quarterly*, July).
The Christ of the Andes. C. E. Babcock (*Pan American Union*, May).
La Cultura Colonial Española en el Alto Perú. (*Revista Hispánica Moderna*, April).
The *Imago Mundi* and Columbus. G. E. Nunn (*American Historical Review*, July).

The Ethiopian Church. L. K. Patterson, S. J. (*America*, August 24).
A Jesuit Mandarin. Johann A. Schall, S. J. (*Month*, September). Father Adam Schall.

EUROPEAN

A Medieval Churchman and World Unity. D. W. Lowis (*London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, July). Abogard, Bishop of Lyons.
Louis XIV. Hilaire Belloc (*Sign*, July).
L'évêque François Picquet dans Ispahan (Juillet 1682-Mai 1684): son action diplomatique et religieuse. Georges Goyau (*Revue des Études Historiques*, April-June).
Une Dame de Charité au XVII^e Siècle (Madame de Miramion). Claude Gével and A. Nammelsdorf (*Revue de France*, August).
Richelieu zwischen Staat und Kirche. Willi Koelmel (*Stimmen der Zeit*, September).
Pauline-Marie Jaricot. P. W. Browne (*America*, July 20). Foundress of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.
El problema religioso de España (continued). E. V. Z. (*Razón y Fe*, July-August).
El monestir de Santa Clara de Cervera (continued). P. Sanahuja, O. F. M. (*Estudis Franciscans*, July-September).
Un voto al Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, propuesto por la duquesa de Villahermosa a Pío VI. J. M. March (*Razón y Fe*, July-August).
A Dominican Martyr of the Sacramental Seal. J. P. Conry (*Ecclesiastical Review*, September). Fr. Tammerman, O. P., 1582.
André Dudith, Humaniste Hongrois (1535-1589). P. Henry, S. J. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, July-August).
Geschichte und Legende im Werk der Slavenmissionare Konstantin und Method. Hildegard Schaeder (*Historische Zeitschrift*, Band 152, heft 2).
Monseigneur Strossmayer, précurseur de l'Unité Yougoslave. Marquis d'Aragon (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, May).
Galileo Galilei. Leopold Vaccaro (*Annals of Medical History*, July).
Savonarola and Alexander VI. M. de la Bedoyere (*Thought*, September).
St. Leo the Great. J. P. Arendzen (*Clergy Review*, June).
The Pontifical Summer Residence of Castel Gandolfo. Marie L. Handley (*Sign*, September).

BRITISH EMPIRE

Les progrès du Catholicisme en Angleterre. G. Constant (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, August).
The Venerable Bede. Bede Jarrett, O. P. (*Dublin Review*, July).
Bede the Venerable. Bernard Orchard (*Downside Review*, July).
Saint Bede the Venerable. J. R. Meagher (*Clergy Review*, July).
The Venerable Bede. J. S. Lidgett (*London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, July).
Los nuevos Santos ingleses (concluded). C. Bayle (*Razón y Fe*, July-August).
Saint John Fisher and Cambridge. R. G. D. Laffan (*Dublin Review*, July).
Der hl. martyrer John Fisher. Josef Grisar (*Stimmen der Zeit*, July).
Sir Thomas More, 1478-1535. Mary B. Whiting (*Contemporary Review*, July).
Saint Thomas More as Citizen. J. R. O'Connell (*Dublin Review*, July).
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Thomas More and the Soviets. Sister Julie, O. P. (*Commonweal*, September 13).
The Return of the Episcopate to England, August 6, 1685. Philip Hughes (*Clergy Review*, September).
Queen Anne and the Episcopate. N. Sykes (*English Historical Review*, July).
Actuación de los jesuitas en Oxford. F. Cuenca (*Razón y Fe*, July-August).

Anthony Legrand (1629-1699): Franciscan and Cartesian. J. K. Ryan (*New Scholasticism*, July).

The Revolt of the Lay Brothers of Sempringham. M. D. Knowles (*English Historical Review*, July). With documents.

For the Biography of William of Blois. Lynn White, Jr. (*English Historical Review*, July).

Lanfranc of Canterbury. A. J. Macdonald (*Church Quarterly Review*, July).

John Bede Polding, V. J. J. McGovern (*Australiasian Catholic Record*, July).

John Duns Scotus, Doctor Marianus. P. J. Blanc, S. S. (*Voice*, June).

The Beginnings of Christianity in Ireland. W. G. Hanson (*London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, July).

Anglo-Norman Dublin and Diocese. M. V. Ronan (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, August).

The Church in Wales. Ivor Daniel (*Dublin Review*, July).

The Fourteenth Colony. C. W. Thompson (*Catholic World*, July). Canada.

Marie de l'Incarnation. Thomas Chapais (*Canada Français*, June).

UNITED STATES

The Writing of Parish Histories. Peter Guilday (*Ecclesiastical Review*, September).

American Catholic Action. T. J. Diviney (*Month*, September).

A Half-Century of the Writing of History in Ohio. F. P. Weisenburger (*Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, July).

A Twelfth-Century Sacramentary in the Walters Collection. Charles Niver (*Speculum*, July).

Juan Ponce de Leon's Voyages to Florida. T. F. Davis (*Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, July).

The Spanish Missions of the Southwest. R. K. Wyllys (*Arizona Historical Review*, January).

The First Decade of the Inquisition in New Mexico. F. V. Scholes (*New Mexico Historical Review*, July).

The Spanish Military Chapels in Santa Fé and the Reredos of Our Lady of Light. A. von Wuthenau (*New Mexico Historical Review*, July).

Jesuits begin the West Coast Missions. P. M. Dunne, S. J. (*Pacific Historical Review*, June).

Early Religious Efforts in the Lower Mississippi Valley. V. A. Moody (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September).

Charles Carroll and the Presidential Issue. Joseph Gurn (*Sign*, July).

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Father John Nicholas Mertz, Pioneer Priest, 1764-1844 (concluded). J. M. Lenhart, O. M. Cap. (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, July-September).

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Bishop Machebeuf. T. J. O'Connor (*Colorado Magazine*, July).

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Memoirs of Lurana Mary Francis, Mother Foundress of the Franciscan Sisters of the Atonement. E. U. Lex (*Lamp*, June-September).

An Historical Footnote to Cardinal O'Connell's *Recollections*. F. A. Christie (*New England Quarterly*, June).

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Mention here does not preclude extended notice in the REVIEW)

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Guttridge, G. H., *American Correspondence of a Bristol Merchant, 1766-1776: Letters of Richard Champion* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1934, pp. viii, 71).

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Van Der Essen, Léon, *Alexandre Farnèse, Prince de Parme, Gouverneur Général des Pays-Bas (1545-1592)*, Tome IV: *Le Siège D'Anvers* (Brussels: Nouvelle Société d'Editions, 1935, pp. xiv, 148).

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CONTRIBUTORS OF ARTICLES AND MISCELLANY

HERBERT E. BOLTON, chairman of the department of history in the University of California, director of the Bancroft Library and former president of the American Historical Association, is the author of numerous books and monographs on Hispanic American history.

Hon. J. MOSS IVES is a graduate of the Yale Law School and has held several important posts in the Connecticut State judiciary; his historical interest centers mainly about the problem of religious equality in the colonial period. Some of the results of his researches have been published in *Thought* and in New England periodicals. Judge Ives has recently completed a book on the subject of colonial religious toleration.

Miss MARY WATTERS received her doctorate of philosophy in the University of North Carolina in 1931, and since that time has been head of the department of history in Arkansas State College, Jonesboro, Arkansas. Her *History of the Church in Venezuela: 1810-1930* appeared in 1933. Dr. Watters is now preparing for publication a history of the same Church during the Spanish period.

Rev. Dr. JOHN J. ROLBIECKI, associate professor of philosophy in the Catholic University of America, is the author of *The Political Philosophy of Dante Alighieri*, and a contributor to the leading philosophical reviews here and abroad.

Rev. JOHN M. LENHART, O. M. Cap., bibliographer; author of: "Science in the Franciscan Order," *Franciscan Studies*, No. 1 (New York, 1923); "Language Studies in the Franciscan Order," *ibid.*, No. 5 (New York, 1926); *Chained Bibles* (New York, 1920); *The Open Bible* (New York, 1920); *Catholics and the American Declaration of Independence: 1774-1776* (St. Louis, 1934). Contributor to numerous periodicals including: *The American Ecclesiastical Review, Catholic World, Analecta Ord. Min. Capuccinorum, Records of the American Catholic Historical Society, Central Blatt and Social Justice*, etc. Father Lenhart is an authority on: pre-Reformation Bibles; pre-Reformation printers, block books, etc.; German Catholic settlers in America; Capuchin missions; and *Incunabula* in American libraries.